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Spring 2003

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Alternative Press REVIEW

YOUR GUIDE BEYOND THE MAINSTREAM



War – The Final Solution?

INSIDE:

The Nazification of Israel ♦ Iraq & Palestine:
Parallel and Linked Genocides ♦ The Growing
Clamor for Ethnic Cleansing ♦ George Bush &
American Empire ♦ Anti-Semitism & the
Beirut Pogrom ♦ Hiroshima Haunts 9-11



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EDITORIAL

War: The Final Solution?

The continuing escalation of the never-ending Israeli war against the entire non-Jewish population of mandated Palestine has become the model for the Bush administration's never-ending war against all those who stand in the way of U.S. economic and military hegemony around the world.

With the passive support of the majority of its non-Arab citizens, the Israeli state continues to tag along behind the simple logic of its incredibly deadly military forces. Given its bloated military capability to carry out increasingly vicious campaigns of mass harassment, impoverishment, imprisonment, torture and murder of the Palestinian population, there is little motivation for Israelis to even consider other approaches to the Palestinian resistance. Especially considering the protection provided by its partner in repression, the United States, from the threat of enforcement of any U.N. resolutions.

Moron that he is, George Bush (with the continuing coaching of his handlers) still remains highly aware that the "success" of the Israeli military escalations depends upon a combination of its overwhelming superiority in weapons (including "weapons of mass destruction"), its ability to circumvent any threats of international intervention, and its massive international propaganda campaigns. The Bush administration has made these three planks the center of its own terrorist war on (non-US-backed forms of) "Terrorism." With its "Death Star" military programs, its neutering of the U.N., and its increasingly well-orchestrated Hollywood-PR-intelligence/psywar-military complex, the U.S. state can afford to sink its own economy, while intensifying the exploitation of international resources, and sowing mass social destruction around the world—all in the pursuit of short-term oil and armament industry profits, even shorter-term Republican Party political gains, and a likely chimerical longer-term plan of Russian and Chinese encirclement and neutralization. As long as the Israelis—with massive U.S. help—continue to get away with murder, the U.S. won't be far behind.

It doesn't matter much that even arch-ally Britain's ambassador to Israel recently angered Israelis by describing the Palestinian territories as "the largest detention camp in the world" (according to Alan Philips in the October 15th Telegraph in England). It doesn't matter that Israel is only able to pursue its never-ending war against an entire population through the generous funding of the U.S. government—at a current total rate of as much as \$5.5 billion per year according to a recent Washington Report on Middle East Affairs report (\$5,525,800,000 for 1997). It doesn't matter that this never-ending war requires the creation of an ever-widening list of civilian targets for assassination ("targeted killings" of civilian "suspects" in U.S./Israeli propaganda-speak).

It doesn't seem to matter that these never-ending wars require the day-by-day, increasing Nazification of both the Israeli and the U.S. states. The semi-racist, semi-religious, apartheid state of Israel has been compared with Nazi Germany for years for a variety of reasons confirmed over and over in its brutally devastating invasions, annexations, expulsions and

occupations over the last half century. While the U.S. state has also earned its own comparisons to the Nazis—from the invasion, defoliation and genocidal bombings in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to its seemingly insuppressible penchant for terrorizing and invading tiny countries, including the repeated organization and funding of proxy death squads to torture, assassinate and "disappear" its opponents—including teachers, union organizers, students and health-care workers.

This increasing Nazification can be seen in the prospective US-planned massacre in Iraq ("war" is a gross misnomer) which promises to reach new levels of carnage, depravity and brutality with a proposed "Shock and Awe" strategy. It calls for the launching of up to 800 cruise missiles during the first 48 hours of attack to produce a Hiroshima-style effect on the Iraqi civilian population. According to military strategist Harlan Ullman: "There will not be a safe place in Baghdad. The sheer size of this has never been seen before, never been contemplated before."

The population of Iraq is still enduring the effects of the 1991 Gulf massacre where water treatment facilities and sewage plants were deliberately destroyed in order to create "favorable conditions for disease outbreaks, particularly in major urban areas" (according to a 1991 US Defense Intelligence Agency document). This was followed by a deliberate US policy of blocking humanitarian supplies to deny necessary repairs, medicines and medical equipment resulting in 1 to 1.5 million deaths, many of them children — a US-enforced embargo declared "genocidal" by Denis Halliday, former Deputy Under Secretary of the UN.

This increasing Nazification can also be seen in the methods used by Israel in the occupied Palestinian territories, including the Israeli military adopting the tactics used by the Nazis against the Warsaw ghettos. This intensified campaign of torture, illegal detentions, deportations, assassinations, house demolitions, economic strangulation, and mass starvation (all carried out with the unconditional support of the US) is creating a major health crisis and a silent famine as severe hunger grips ever larger portions of the Palestinian population in the Israeli-imposed "detention camps" of the West Bank and Gaza.

When wars are fought against vastly outgunned enemies, when civilian populations are their primary target, and when no peace is considered possible short of total annihilation of the enemy, the level of barbarism which must eventually take shape increasingly resembles those carried out by Nazi Germany against its enemies in the 1930s and 1940s. Both the US and Israel have committed and continue to engage in terrorist atrocities and war crimes of immense proportions. And the vast majority of the corporate media is complicit in this effort serving as willing propagandists and enthusiastic cheerleaders for the war criminals in the United States and Israel.

*Jason McQuinn
Dean Thomas
Chuck Munson*

ALTERNATIVE PRESS REVIEW

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*Your Guide Beyond
the Mainstream*

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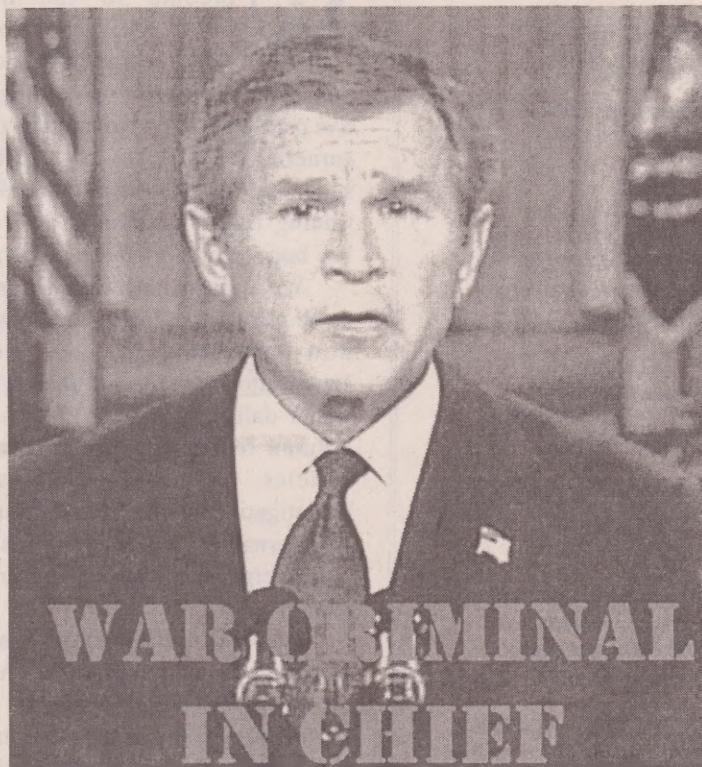
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EDITORS

Jason McQuinn

Chuck "Chuck0" Munson

Dean Thomas

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Allan Antliff

Kerry Mogg

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS

Richard Mock

Mike Flugennock

Micah Wright

CONTRIBUTORS THIS ISSUE

Ali Abunimah • Aijaz Ahmad • Ahmed

Amr • Rachel Corrie • Brian Dean •

Terry Everton • Norman Finkelstein •

Richard Heinberg • Edward S. Herman •

Jared Israel • Latuff • Stephanie

McMillan • Robin Miller • Fredy Perlman

• Gene Ray • David Rees • Jeffrey St.

Clair • Heather Wokusch • Mickey Z.

ADVERTISING

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advertising@altpr.org

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"The whirligig of time has its revenges."

-B.A.G. Fuller

Alternative Press Notes

Welcome to the new issue of **Alternative Press Review**! A significant portion of this issue is devoted to providing alternative perspectives on two matters currently garnering headline coverage in the mainstream media: The war in Iraq and the continuing Israeli occupation of Palestine. We hope you enjoy these articles.

We also wish to inform our readers of some changes and new additions **APR** is now providing at our web site (www.altpr.org). One of the new features is our daily *Alternative News & Views* column featuring a broad selection of articles, editorials, analysis and investigative reports from a diverse range of alternative, independent, mainstream and foreign news sources from around the globe.

Another new feature we have introduced is our *Alternative Press Week in Review*, a regular weekly roundup highlighting some of the more interesting news and opinion columns of the week. The weekly column also provides pertinent information on some of the more

noteworthy books, zines, publications, CDs, videos and DVDs we receive at the **APR** office each week. In addition to these two new features, **APR** has also started running one or two web-only essays each month. We encourage our readers to visit the **APR** website on a regular basis for the latest alternative news, information and updates!

APR has plans to start an email announcement list for our readers who wish to receive regular news updates. We hope to have this feature up and running by the time this magazine reaches your mailbox. Please visit our web site for more information and instructions on subscribing to the *Alternative Press Review* email list.

As always, we welcome comments and suggestions from our readers on ways for us to continue to expand and improve our coverage of alternative media. In the meantime, we hope you enjoy the expanded features at the **APR** website and we hope you are pleased with the current issue!

— Dean Thomas

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Submissions

Please enclose an adequate-sized self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, photos, and graphic art if you want it returned, or a 37¢ SASE if you want to receive a response. All other unsolicited submissions become the property of A.A.L. Press. We prefer that written submissions be typed and double-spaced; ASCII, WordPerfect or Word format by email or on 3.5" diskettes (PC compatible) are encouraged. Please do **not** send original artwork, send copies.

Alternative Press Review may edit submissions for grammar and style, although we always try to keep any editing to an absolute minimum.

Please address all subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to: **A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204-4710, U.S.A.**, or:

J.McQuinn: jmcquinn@coin.org

C. Munson: chuck@mutualaid.org

D. Thomas: deanthomas@comcast.net

Letters are welcome!

As many letters to *Alternative Press Review*—concerning appropriate topics of potential interest to readers—will be published as is possible given the space limitations of this format. All letters should be no more than one typed, double-spaced page (no longer than 600 words). For anything of greater length, please query first to see if there is any chance we will be able to publish it. Letters will include the writer's name, city and state, province or country, unless otherwise requested. Send all letters to *Alternative Press Review*, c/o A.A.L. Press, POB 4710, Arlington, VA 22204-4710

PRAISE FOR APR

Thank you so much for a real exposure of current events, it is refreshing to know that *someone* realizes the truth.
Carole Gass

Good for you. How popular you folks must be going against the mindless flag waving public. Don't you know that Bush walks on water? That our saintly government is doing such a bang-up job of protecting us? It's not nice to say such unpatriotic things about the US government. Keep up the good work. At least I know where to find some sanity in this mess.
Rusty Moore

Editors,
The Stars & Stripes: Killing for the Flag editorial is one of the best articles I have seen on the current situation of the so called "war on terrorism." The

present leadership in the White House is so short-sighted, they fail to see right from wrong. Keep writing, we need honest journalists like you all the time; very few are left.

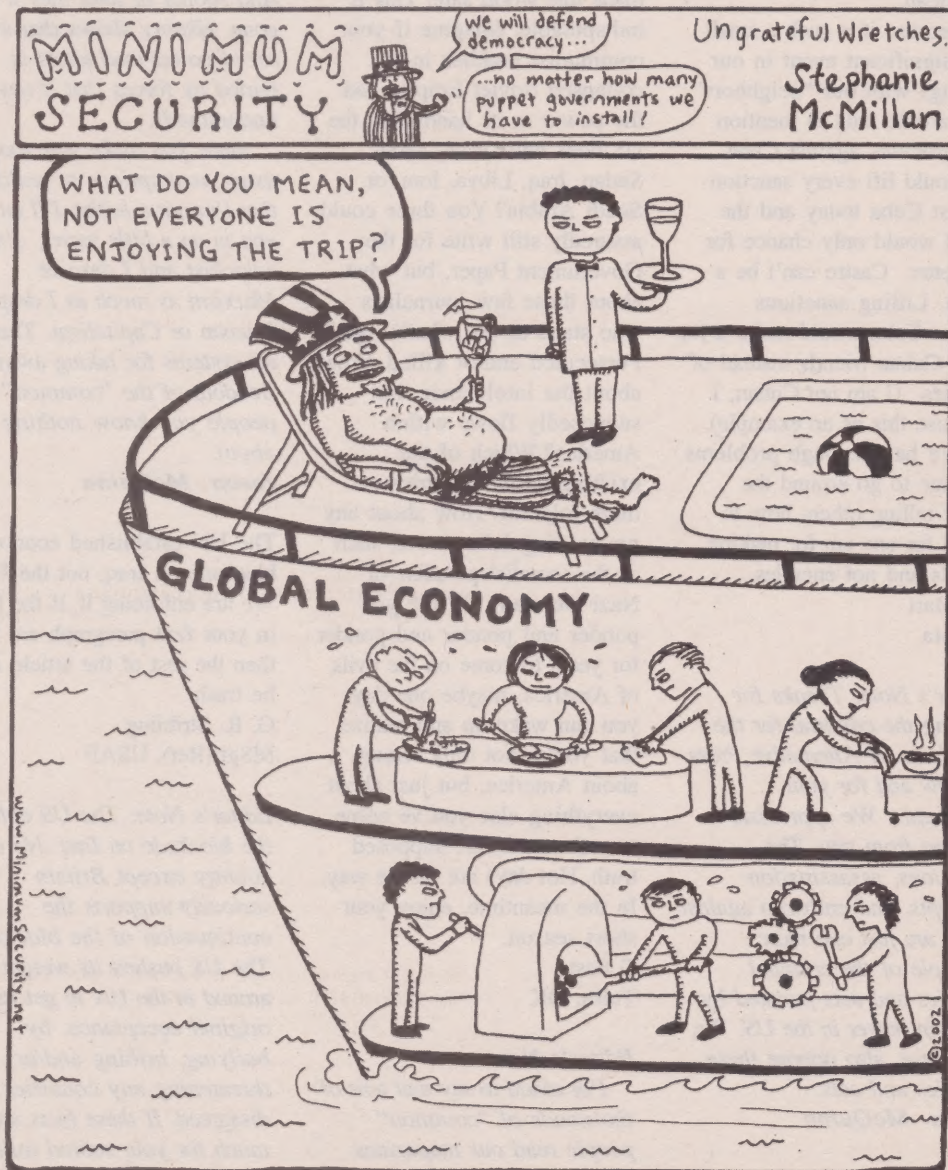
Shahem Barazi

Editors:
Excellent editorial! Thank you for having the courage to expose this tyranny to our politically correct society. Our Government is so out of

control that I know longer believe we can take back our country by politics alone. History has proven time and time again that tyrants only understand one thing; force. Congressman Ron Paul was correct when he stated that the Founders would have started a Revolutionary War if they read the new Patriot Act. He went on to say that they started one over much milder oppression! What we really

need right now is a war on tyranny.
Constitutionally yours,
Mike Scherback

Editor's Note: It's nice to see your letter. Personally, I'm not a constitutionalist since I prefer the original U.S. Articles of Confederation. If you aren't familiar with them, you might want to check out: <http://w3.one.net/~mweiler/ushda/artconf.txt>. Although I'm not a philosophical believer in



"rights" per se, I'm also a defender of the basic freedoms included in the Bill of Rights. I agree that people these days don't measure up to the people who fought the Revolutionary War. We've got a long way to go to wake people up so that we can take back our freedoms.

Jason McQuinn

Thank you for your sad but true article. What we've done to others throughout the world makes me ashamed to be an American.

Because it is such a small an insignificant event in our dealings with our "neighbors", your article fails to mention our atrocities against Cuba. We could lift every sanction against Cuba today and the world would only chance for the better. Castro can't be a threat. Lifting sanctions against Cuba would make a lot more Cuban friends instead of enemies. (I am not Cuban; I only use this as an example).

We have enough problems at home to go around the world telling others how to live. I for one am for making friends and not enemies.
Bill Hart
Atlanta

Editor's Note: Thanks for reading the editorial for the new issue of Alternative Press Review and for your comments. We appreciate hearing from you. The invasions, assassination attempts, and embargo against Cuba are just one more example of the criminal policies and acts pursued by those in power in the US. We, of course, also oppose these policies and acts.

Jason McQuinn

THE FILTH AND THE FURY

To the Intelligencia,
It appears that in the journey to your intellectual nirvana (which appears to me to be pointless in that every leftist "academic superior" I've spoken to is dumber than eight stones) you've actually convinced yourselves that you are serving the interest of the common man. In fact, the common man has no use for you nor can assign any value to your existence. The US has made this world safe. This is indisputable. Imagine if your communist buddies in the collapsed Soviet Empire had the power in its hands that the US does now. What about Sudan, Iraq, Libya, Iran, or Saudi Arabia? You three could assuredly still write for the Government Paper, but what about those few journalists who stand up for what's right? Persecuted and/or killed. What about the intolerance that supposedly flows within America? Which of the existing leftist countries is more tolerant? How about any pre-existing leftist state, such as the socialist paradise of Nazi Germany? While you ponder and ponder and ponder for years to come on the evils of America, maybe one day you can wake up and realize that you're not only wrong about America, but just about everything else you've come to embrace as the supposed truth. Hot days are on the way. In the meantime, enjoy your short season.

G Post
Tulsa, OK

Editor's Note:

I'm afraid to say that tens of thousands of "common" people read our magazines. Just because you don't like having your death-dealing

government challenged, doesn't mean that many other people don't care a whole lot more about regaining their freedom and integrity!

The US government is much more similar to the Soviet and Nazi governments than different. Just another set of mass-murderers hardly distinguishable from the others. Each set wanted to rule the world, but only one set continues with its insane plans and policies.

I say, get rid of them all! And sooner or later they'll be gone. History shows that every set of power-mad idiots is buried by forces that it never understands.

Since you make way too many assumptions to realize that I'm not a leftist, I'll let you in on a little secret, I'm an anarchist and I despise Marxism as much as I despise Nazism or Capitalism. They're all systems for taking away the freedom of the "common" people you know nothing about.

Jason McQuinn

The UN established economic blockade on Iraq, not the US. We are enforcing it. If the facts in your first paragraph are false then the rest of the article must be trash.

G. R. Stribling
MSgt (Ret), USAF

Editor's Note: The US enforces the blockade on Iraq. No other country except Britain seriously supports the continuation of the blockade. The US pushed its weight around in the UN to get its original acceptance, by bullying, bribing and/or threatening any countries that disagreed. If these facts are too much for your retired military mind, you will probably be better off not reading the rest

of the disturbing facts in the editorial.

Jason McQuinn

Dear Sirs:

How many other countries have a First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of the press? In how many other countries would you have the freedom to print a rant like *The Stars & Stripes: Killing for the Flag* and not have to worry about your life? Be thankful that you live in a country that gives you the freedom to write and print stupid, misguided, and immature essays. Yes, America has some problems, and not everything we do is right or justified. But when are left-wingers like you going to realize that we take care of the world. Can any other country match what we give the world in foreign aid? Little Elian Gonzalez's mother died trying to bring him to the US. Anyone dying to get into Cuba? Russia? China? Afghanistan? Iraq? Roxanna Ellington Mariposa California

Roxanna Ellington,

How many countries have plundered the wealth of the world like the USA has?

None.

How many countries have been killing – directly and indirectly – as many people as the US has during the last 50 years?

None.

How many supporters of the mass killing, exploitation and theft of resources by the US around the world does it take to keep it going?

At least a hundred million. And you're one of them, unfortunately.

I and a few million others in the US, however, refuse to participate. We are the same kind of people who protested

the Nazi regime from within Germany, and who dissented and fought the Communist Party from within Russia.

You are the kind of person who supported the Nazi stranglehold on Germany and who saluted the Nazi flag every time there was a chance, and the kind of person who supported Uncle Joe and the Communist Party repression, all the while denouncing those nasty people like us who rock the boat and demand freedom and peace.

I don't know how people who support mass murder, mass exploitation and the looting of the world's resources can sleep at night. But I sleep fine knowing that I'm doing what I can to oppose the disgusting practices and policies of the US government.
Jason McQuinn

Editors:
Killing for the Flag, here we go again...the big bad US. Whenever the US doesn't respond militarily to a volatile third world situation (e.g. Rwanda) you accuse the US of not caring, then when the US responds militarily and frees people from oppression (e.g. Bosnia and now Afghanistan) you call them murderers. I seem to remember Saddam Hussein releasing nerve agent on his own people. He seems to be a really great guy so we should just let him be and develop a nuclear arsenal. What a great idea! We should have continued in Iraq and Somalia but because of gutless liberal maggots like yourselves who jump from one side of the argument to the other at a moment's notice the U.S. was peer pressured into submission.

Believe it or not we do have the right to proactively defend ourselves. I don't know

if you've noticed but these third world Islamic countries who pride themselves on teaching hate, self-mutilation, oppression and brutal treatment of women among other barbaric ideologies are campaigning against all freedom loving countries across the globe. I know you hate America. Your cowardice shows in each article you write. I can see why a gutless man like yourself wouldn't dare suggest that the Islamic world is responsible for any of this. If you did they'd go after you, but criticizing America is so easy. You can jump on the free speech band wagon here whereas in the majority of other Islamic countries around the world would lead to public execution. It's America that's the big problem, feeding our capitalistic ways. It's our fault. McQuinn, you're a coward and an imbecile.

Keith Dover

Editor's Note: You might do better to respond to what we say then what we haven't said. We have never called on the US to put its military anywhere – neither in Rwanda, nor Somalia, nor Bosnia, nor Afghanistan, etc. Everywhere the US has inserted its military around the world for the last 50 years it has been to solidify the US hold on the world's resources, political power and industrial strength – in other words, in order to loot the rest of the world's wealth and impose US power.

The US never freed anyone from oppression in Bosnia nor Afghanistan. If people are free now in Bosnia, why does the terrorist KLA have to be propped up in power by the US and its allies while the US steals the resources of the province? If Afghanistan has been freed from oppression

why are the same old terrorist militias still battling it out for control of each of their little areas, while the US has finally succeeded in putting itself in a position to run its long-planned oil pipeline through the country?

If you think this is freedom from oppression, I don't want any of the kind of freedom you believe in.

Saddam Hussein released his "nerve agent on his own people" (actually it was apparently released on Iraqi military deserters) while he was a puppet of the US military. The US sold him the materials to make his nerve agents, and helped teach his technologists how to make them. And it looked on with pleasure while he killed his own people, all the while trying to suppress the news because he was one of the US's top dictator-allies.

The Islamic world is not monolithic, so there are a lot of things that could be said about it. What is uniform about it, however, is the attempt by the US to steal its resources and bully it around, supporting despots every chance it gets. Islam has a reputation as being a bit more civilized than Christianity. But in my opinion it is most often equally bloody in its effects. I suggest getting rid of both would result in a more humane world.

Your support for the mass-murder of the US military machine in its quest to loot the world disgusts me and the millions of others who would prefer a North American community based on freedom and peace.

The only maggot around here is the one that has swallowed your brain.

Jason McQuinn

Editors,
I just read your lead editorial, and I wonder why you are living in a country you so despise? There are many other nations that have governments and prevailing philosophies that more closely match your views. Do you not think you would be happier elsewhere? I'll be happy to send you a donation for moving boxes!
Ellyn Wood

Editor's Note: I wonder why the people who hated the Nazi government fought it instead of leaving Germany, and why the people who hated the Communist Party in Russia fought it rather than leaving the country? It just might be the same reason why we resist the mass-killing and looting of the world's resources by the US government from right here in the middle of the country.
Jason McQuinn

Dear Editors,
I can't believe how far some people have slipped out of reality. In your lead editorial (Vol. 7, #1) you compare the United States' war on terrorism to the Third Reich's quest for world domination and ethnic cleansing? Why don't you stop dropping acid and join the real world here, guys! What is your suggestion? That we just sit back and wait for the terrorists to attack again? Obviously you are immune to the realization that these terrorists are on a rapid quest to obtain weapons of mass destruction. Do you think that if a nuclear device were detonated in Manhattan and a million people were killed, that maybe *then* war would be a good solution? I'd rather act before that happens.

Another thing you have wrong is the Israel vs. Palestinians struggle. Check

your history: there are no such people as "the Palestinians." They are just plain old Arabs. Even Yasser Arafat himself is Egyptian! In fact, the area which is now the nation of Israel was largely an uninhabited wasteland up until the time Israel was established. It wasn't until the Israeli's started developing the land and making it productive

that many Arabs came to that area (mostly in the search for good jobs and opportunity). The so called 'occupied territories' were Israel's according to the UN resolution allowing the Jews to reclaim their homeland. It was only by a large scale attack that the Arabs captured them in 1948. The Israeli's got the West Bank and Gaza strip areas

back after the Arabs again attacked them in 1967. And what about the PLO? It was chartered in 1965 (before Israel took back the West Bank and Gaza strip) with the sole purpose of eliminating Israel altogether. Apparently you have been duped by the so called Palestinian people's campaign of revisionist

history. I hope your eyes are opened soon.
Craig Dudouski
Minneapolis, MN

Editor's Note: All it would take to keep the "terrorists" from hitting the US again and again would be for the US to pull its unwanted troops out of the Middle East, to stop funding and supplying the weapons for Israel to massacre Palestinians, and for the US to start treating other nations like nations rather than looting them and bullying them.

The "largely uninhabited wasteland" that is now Israel was inhabited by well over a million people before the Jews (who largely immigrated from Europe at that time and who became Israelis) drove out 600,000 of them in a terror campaign and stole their land. This was unfortunately supported by the US and Britain with a UN mandate imposed on the people of the area whose lives were considered expendable.

Read a little history before you swallow whole the propaganda coming from the racist state of Israel, where all Arabs are second-class citizens, if they're allowed to be citizens at all.

The "occupied territories" are not Israel's and never have been. If you care to check the reality of the situation you'll see that there have been repeated UN resolutions calling on Israel to stop violating international law and get out of the occupied territories. Most of these resolutions were voted on unanimously by all of the nation-states of the world except for the partners in crime—Israel and the US government.

Jason McQuinn

christian angst by terry everton

Though he made sure the topic never came up, Dubya was aware that the United States and Britain supported Saddam Hussein while he committed atrocities, helped him develop weapons of mass destruction, and stood idly by when he gassed the Kurds.

My fellow Americans...God told me the reason why all them evil-doers in the Middle East hate us so much is 'cause their cultures is so messed up with bad religion an' stuff!



Starving people in Iraq is all our fault? You mention nothing about Saddam. Does he have anything to do with the suffering of innocents? Israel goes after militants, while Palestinians deliberately go after moms and their children. Palestine was never a state. Globalization should be ended, but not for the reasons you like. Why should we reduce our living standards so that the poor who hate us can live off of our (my) labors? People in Afghanistan weren't poor and starving before 9/11? Wake up. Look at things objectively. I wouldn't read your magazine, even if it was free. I can't believe people actually would agree with this crap.

Scott Rose
Bartlett, IL

Editor's Note: At this point, over ten years after the initial US invasion of Iraq, the starvation there is entirely the fault of the US and Britain. If it wasn't for the US and Britain destroying and/or contaminating the water supplies, destroying the sewage systems and destroying almost the entire public health infrastructure—and THEN refusing to allow Iraq to repair them, cutting off supplies, etc. TO THIS VERY DAY, then probably 1,000,000 (yes, that's one million) innocent Iraqi children would not have died senseless deaths just so people like you can revel in your government's power.

Israel has a deliberate policy of destroying the economic, political and social structures of the Palestinians. It imposes inhuman conditions on an entire population because it has the backing of the US military. Without the US backing the rest of the

world would see to it that Israel got out of the occupied Palestinian territories. I have no sympathy for a racist state that treats Arabs like second class citizens when it allows them to be citizens at all.

The world is a mess and much of that mess is due to the policies of the US which has been working on creating this mess for the last 50 years at least (well over a hundred years in South America, and the Pacific rim). I suggest that you'd be better off with a standard of living that didn't depend on the blood of millions of people killed around the world, and that didn't depend on the US constantly looting the resources of the rest of the world. You might not like it, but the mass-murder and looting required for your current lifestyle won't last, regardless. Because millions of people like us will eventually put a stop to it!

Jason McQuinn

You are nothing but communist loving, Nazi harboring pigs. The people of Iraq are dying, not because of the US, but from their own Satan worshipping regime. Saddam is nothing more than the Anti-Christ. He takes all the money he receives for healthcare and uses it for building elaborate housing for himself and to develop weapons of mass destruction. So don't blame the US. Blame the dickhead in charge of Iraq. Also, Israel is not an occupier of any land. They were attacked and won the land in a war that the cowards who attacked wussed out and ran crying for help. You dumbasses on the far left have your heads so far up your butts that you can tell the truth from a lie, but then again nobody

ever accused communists of knowing what the truth is. You scumbags just need to fall off a high bridge. Oh yeah, that has already happened. That is why your head is full of shit.

Chris Chappell

Chris Chappell,

Thank you for your compassionate reading of our editorial.

However, I regret to inform you that we are neither Communists nor Marxists. Nor would we harbor any Nazis, who would seem to have much more in common with you and the US government than with any peace-loving and freedom-loving people like ourselves.

I sincerely doubt that you know much at all about the situation in Iraq. It seems that you've been fooled by the know-nothing propagandists of the right-wing Christian media. All the genuine studies that have been done show that the US-imposed blockade, following the war-crime involved in the bombing and deliberate destruction of the Iraqi public health infrastructure, is what has killed and continues to kill hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqi men, women and children? mostly the most defenseless—with a high proportion being children, now probably over a million of them needlessly dead. If you think this is a good thing, I hope you'll reconsider and think about what it would mean if you just happened to be one of those innocent Iraqis who has to watch as his or her children get sick and slowly die from fully preventable and treatable diseases caused by the US bombing and blockade, and now invasion.

I have no sympathy for either Saddam Hussein or Bill

Clinton, or for either of the Bush imbeciles—all of whom are guilty of war crimes and deserve to be held responsible for them.

As for the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories, the entire world—outside of the US and Israel—has consistently insisted that Israel get out and leave the Palestinians alone. Now it is getting to the point where there are mass demonstrations (over a thousand people yesterday, as this is written) of Israelis who are calling their own government war criminals and demanding that Sharon be tried as he should be.

Jason McQuinn

Dear APR,

Holy fucking Christ, I hope the writers of this article aren't American citizens. If so, they need to get the hell out. What a bunch of fucking ignorant children. Crimes of the US empire? Such as? Specific examples would be nice. I do agree with you on one point: the media is far, far too biased. John (libertarian)

Editor's Note: I can't believe you think you're any kind of "libertarian" if you're so afraid of our criticisms of the crimes of US empire-building that you want us out of the country!

Please look up the meaning of the word 'libertarian'!

Regarding specific crimes of the US government, just look at any recent war—the invasion and destruction of Vietnam, the invasions of Guatemala and the genocidal regime the US funded and supported there), the invasions of Nicaragua, the Contra terrorists illegally funded by Reagan's regime, the Panama invasion, the Grenada invasion, the bombing of

civilian infrastructure in Serbia, the "Dirty War" of "disappearances" organized by the US (in collaboration with Nazi military leftovers) in Argentina, the mass murder of 600,000 to 1,000,000 people in the Indonesian coup arranged by the CIA in the 60s, the war in Mozambique, the bombing of Afghanistan civilians, the CIA funding and arming of the warlords in Afghanistan which led to the takeover of the Taliban (also supported by the CIA from time to time), the funding and arming of bin Laden's organization in Afghanistan (before the last year) and Chechnya and Kosovo and Bosnia and Macedonia, the funding of death squad paramilitaries in Colombia, the funding and arming of the death squads in El Salvador, the funding and organization of the coup d'etat putting the dictator Pinochet in power at the cost of 30,000 executed in Chile, I could go on and on. This country's government and military are dripping in blood. Any true libertarian would know at least some of this and oppose all of it instead of being afraid of a little criticism of the US government's massive crimes.

Jason McQuinn

I just finished reading your editorial (*Stars&Stripes: Killing for the Flag*) piece of garbage on perpetual war and the war on terror. I will address two of the many factual errors in their nonsensical drivel:

1. Even if you're ignorant enough to blame US policy for September 11th, surely you do not think we would just turn the other cheek after the murder of almost 3000 innocent people. The terrorists clearly initiated this war and we will happily bring them to

justice, either in a court or with a 2000-pounder.

2. The US allows Saddam to sell oil on the open market to buy food and medicine for his people. He chooses to spend that money on his military and weapons of mass destruction. If large numbers of Iraqi children are dying (I pray they are not), the blame lies squarely at Saddam's feet, not ours.

Ed Pickrel

Editor's Note: One would have to truly be ignorant to think that the attacks of Sept 11th would have happened if the US government didn't have military forces in Saudi Arabia (where they have no legitimate business being stationed) and if the US didn't supply the funds and military equipment and political backing for the ongoing criminal Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories. If you want to keep US troops in Saudi Arabia and you want Israelis to keep on torturing, murdering, starving and tormenting Palestinians, then you should accept that you also will cause groups like the once-US-funded Al Qaeda to fight the US. (I hope you realize that Bin Laden has been a US ally for twenty years, and only recently has become an official US enemy.)

Personally, I don't want the US government to keep inflicting pain on the rest of the world, causing people to hate US citizens and target them in their rage.

You've been watching too much Christian right-wing media if you think that the vast majority of the oil money hasn't been going for Iraqi necessities. It is the US imposed blockade, the paltry amount of medicines and public health goods allowed into the country by the small

oil sales, and the immense destruction of civilian public health facilities (in itself a massive war crime) by the US bombings that are resulting in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. So far, probably a million innocent children have died in Iraq in the last twelve years, and you bear part of the blame for keeping your head in the sand.

May they forgive you for your enthusiastic participation in their deaths.

Jason McQuinn

I am terribly, terribly curious about something. If you view this country with such disgust, and virulent loathing, why are you still here?

Igor Shualzen

Editor's Note: The US government has earned my disgust and loathing by its actions over my entire lifetime. I live here and I look forward to throwing this government out. I have more right to live here than the US government has. And more and more of us who do not consent to be bullied by it are ready to work to shut it down.

Jason McQuinn

Dear Mr. McQuinn,
We did fight a war about a decade ago to get the Iraqi army out of an innocent neighboring country (I was 15 at the time). The UN (not US) resolutions were put in place to keep Iraq from being able to bully its neighbors again. If Hussein had complied by allowing the inspections that were a part of the ceasefire agreement, the resolutions would be long ago lifted. Also, if Hussein would devote more resources to his people and less to mass destruction weapons and his own

presidential palaces, he'd be able to care for his people. How you can place the moral blame on our government is beyond me. Another thing that I take exception to is your saying that some ongoing mass starvation in Afghanistan is also our fault. Seems to me these people weren't exactly eating well before we ever got involved. What did the Taliban ever do to feed their people? Wasn't the US making food drops over Afghanistan to avert any mass starvation? Wasn't it our rooting out of the Taliban that allowed truckloads full of food to get into Afghanistan from Pakistan and Uzbekistan from humanitarian agencies? And wasn't the Taliban going around saying to it's people that the food was poisoned? Again, I don't see how our government is to blame for anything here. Respectfully,
Christopher Miller
PS - Don't you feel a sense of pride in your country when you see the Afghani people again listening to music, going to the cinema to catch a flick, riding on makeshift amusement rides, and see young girls go to school for the first time in five years, knowing that it was this country that helped it happen? I sure do!

Editor's Note: Yes, the US military destroyed most of Iraq in the US-Gulf War. Since you were only 15 then, I'll excuse you for not knowing that the US ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, explicitly told the Iraqis only a couple weeks before they invaded Kuwait that the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was their own affair, effectively giving what the Iraqis thought was an official US "green light" for

their invasion. Little did Iraqi leaders know that they were being set up by the first Bush administration.

This was the same Iraq which for decades had been a compliant client state of the US in the area up until then, consistently receiving very large amounts of military aid (including help with chemical, biological and nuclear development by US corporations) especially during the US-encouraged Iraq-Iran War, which the US helped finance. At the time of the Iran-Iraq war, the very good US-ally Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons (developed with US assistance) against Kurdish minority in northern Iraq with the blessings of the US government, which attempted to keep the news secret from the American people. Kuwait, itself, by the way, was artificially separated from Iraq by Britain for its own oil concession interests earlier on and only existed as a nation-state at all because it served Britain's interests.

The Kuwaitis weren't "innocent" either. They deliberately provoked Iraq (having gotten assurances from the US that they would be protected) by slanting their oil well drilling into Iraqi reserves, despite many repeated requests by Iraq for Kuwait to stop. If you had been a little older at the time of the war, you might also remember that the single biggest propaganda reason used by the Bush administration to lie its way into getting support for war was the claim that when the Iraqis invaded Kuwait they took newborn babies off their ventilators and out of their incubators in the hospital in Kuwait City. However, it later

turned out that this lie was completely manufactured and attested to by the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the US (who wasn't even ever in Kuwait during the invasion) in collaboration with one of the largest PR firms in the US which had something like a ten million dollar PR contract with Kuwait to get the US population to support a worthless war to put a highly corrupt family of billionaires back in power there.

Regarding the UN. As usual, the US government bought, bullied and bribed its way to getting support from enough countries to get the initial UN support for the US bombing and blockade of Iraq. You might notice that since then there are only two countries in the world that still support the US blockade—Britain and the US. Even Kuwait no longer supports it. The blockade was put in place, not to keep Iraq from "bullying its neighbors again," but to bleed Iraq and attempt to force Hussein to bow completely to all US wishes again. As the former head of the US/UN inspection team has repeatedly testified, its job was done. There was nothing else left to find. The US government blathering about the inspections is just meant to justify the continuing US bombing of Iraq—now going on for a decade.

Hussein is a sick man. President Clinton and Presidents Bush Sr and Jr are also sick men. They all take huge proportions of their nation's governmental budgets and throw them away on military programs that only mean misery for those at their mercies. However, all the best investigations done by neutral observers show that almost all of the oil allowed to be sold by

Iraq by the US is used to finance non-military, civilian goods.

If you actually read a relatively unbiased history of the period you will begin to understand the manipulative, duplicitous motives and machinations of the US government and US corporations involved in the manufacturing of the US-Gulf War. This isn't new. If you look at any of the wars the US has pursued itself—or encouraged and financed—over the last 50 years, you will find similar motives and a bunch of individuals and corporations who have become very rich as a result of these wars: Vietnam, Indonesia, Timor, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Grenada, Panama, Bosnia, Serbia-Kosovo, El Salvador, Laos, Cambodia, Mozambique, Zaire, Angola, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Afghanistan and many more.

The US government isn't constantly involved in fighting, encouraging, financing and directing wars all around the world because it's making the world more peaceful. Like any attempt at world empire, the US government constantly destabilizes the world in order to create the best conditions for US corporations to loot other countries' resources and the best conditions for the US to dictate other countries political and economic policies (the latter largely through the IMF and US-owned World Bank these days). The US has taken over the place Britain occupied as the center of world empire at the beginning of the 20th Century. Germany fought Britain twice in its own attempts to create its own empire and lost. The Soviet

Union was another attempt to set up its own world imperial system with Russia at the center. Now the US is unrivalled in its quest for world empire and it is the single force that creates by far most of the significant military conflicts around the world. (The US has troops in well over 80 countries around the world.)

I invite you to do a little deeper investigation into all of this and I'm confident that you'll become increasingly disillusioned with the actual conduct of the US government. We all would like those who speak and act in our name to be nice, honest, fair people. Unfortunately, it is in the nature of governments to pursue power and wealth for themselves (and those who control them) through whatever means they can. And this isn't a pretty process. The more powerful and wealthy the government, generally, the more despicable its actions throughout the world in order to maintain that power and wealth in the face of resistance from people in other countries who would rather not have their resources looted nor their own governments bowing to the will of more powerful ones. Jason McQuinn

Editors,
If you don't like the U.S. policy, why not leave the U.S. and go actively resist it. Just renounce your citizenship and leave. If you are even remotely trying to side with the Palestinians, you should go there and lend your support. They need it. We should have stood behind Israel and let them completely wipe out the Palestinian population. The Palestinians have never wanted peaceful co-existence

with Israel, they want NO Israel, and then they will have peace.

As far as the US being a terrorist nation if you don't like our ways of protecting our freedom, just leave. It is "journalists"(?) like you who give all in the non-mainstream press a bad reputation. You compare Bush to Nazi Germany? You should leave the US but please don't forget to renounce your citizenship. I may be from a small town in Wyoming but I know right from wrong. Israel is right against Palestine. The U.S is right against Afghanistan and Al Queda.

Charles Loman
P.O. Box 101
Byron WY 82412

Editor's Note: It's interesting to note that a significant minority of the people who read our editorial support the Nazi view that people who question their government should be imprisoned, exiled or killed. We, on the other hand, believe that people should be free to question or disband the governments which engage in criminal acts.

It sounds like you're in the same league as Hitler where humanity is concerned. I prefer not to associate with people who want to "wipe out" entire

populations just because you don't like them. May you remain powerless to act out your fantasies of genocide.

Jason McQuinn

Editors and authors, While I respect your point of view, I just wanted to comment on the parallel made to Nazi Germany by the authors of this article. As a history student focusing mainly on 20th century Europe, I am quite familiar with the particulars of Nazism and what went on with it. To use the elder President Bush's unfortunate "New World Order" speech to imply that the US is carrying out a program similar to that started by the Nazis is irresponsible at best. I also ask you to look a little more closely at the strict anti-American line taken here. What would you do if you were in charge? How do propose we stop irrational men bent on the destruction of the United States? You cannot reason with them. You can't buy them off. You have to stop extremists before they turn violent, and let the ones that have already become violent have a violent end, preferably not in an airplane or bus. It won't be easy, it won't be quick, and it probably won't be done the right way, but the

fact remains that something must be done. If you deny that fact, you're fooling yourself. If you feel that "killing for the flag" is wrong, so be it. But I and millions of educated people like me feel that it is right and has to be done. I take no pleasure in it, but this is the real world.

Regards,
Beau Cleland

*Beau Cleland,
As a student of history, I suggest that you do a bit more research into the actual conduct of the US government, its intelligence agencies & paramilitaries, its military and the major corporations, foundations and institutions which support them. You might be surprised at what you find.*

The comparison of the US drive for world empire to that of the Nazi regime is entirely responsible and appropriate once you begin to understand the enormity of the crimes committed by the US around the world in the last 50 years. However, there is one place where the Nazis didn't measure up to the US and that is in their PR. They pioneered, along with the US, the development of mass propaganda through mass media, but they never

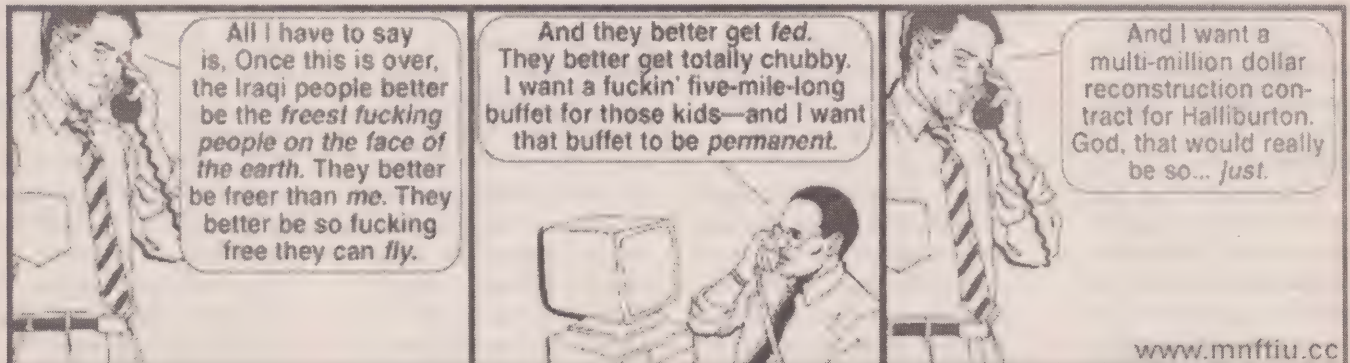
achieved the success with which the US government has been able to hide its most heinous activities from the general population, all the while demonizing others—often the very tyrants it has groomed, supported and financed for decades.

Both Bush's reference to the "New World Order" is neither unfortunate, nor untrue. There is a long history to use of this name for attempts at world empire.

We are not at all anti-American. We are Americans ourselves. We merely oppose those people, institutions and forces which are attempting to subject the world to a ruthless American empire at the same time that they are stripping the last few freedoms we still retain from us.

We don't want to be "in charge." And we don't want anyone else to be, either. We don't believe in tyrants running our world. We believe that we should be able to live in self-managing communities and this is what we fight for.

You say: "How do you propose we stop irrational men bent on the destruction of the United States? You cannot reason with them. You can't buy them off. You have to stop extremists before they turn violent, and let the ones that



have already become violent have a violent end...." We say, these people are the ones in power and who control the major corporations which run this country behind the scenes. And we propose to do everything we can to take power away from these "irrational men bent on the destruction of" this country.
Jason McQuinn

Alternative Press Review,

We are writing to protest the pro-terrorist slant of your mag. Cancel our subscription. Your credibility has ended, as you are a mouthpiece and an apologist for the world of terrorism. In spite of the sometimes educational articles, that part of APR has been overshadowed by your support of armed terrorist attacks against our country.

The US War on Terrorism is good, and deserves the support of us all. The decisive participation of the US in World War II was right and just, as is our participation today in the international war against the terrorists. I wonder if there are other readers of APR who are patriotic in this instance and support our fight against Al Qaeda, and their ilk.

Thank you for canceling our subscription. Of course, we don't expect you to print this

letter branding you pro-terrorist.
Progressive Education Collective

Editor's Note: We will cancel your subscription since we realize how challenging it must be to read material that criticizes the vast campaign of U.S. terrorism around the world along with the terrorism of other states and political gangs.

Unlike the Progressive Education Collective, APR does not support any terrorists. It takes an incredibly incompetent reader to come to any other conclusion. Please provide just one quotation from any previous issue of APR showing that we have ever "support(ed)...armed terrorist attacks against our country," before you start inventing positions for us that we do not and have never held. You can't do it can you?

As long as the Progressive Education Collective actively supports the terrorist US war against most of the rest of the world, however, I think you have a little explaining to do yourself.

Jason McQuinn

I think it is quite reasonable to criticize the many excesses in US foreign policy, but I was

sickened by the lavish coverage you gave to the courtroom statements of Slobodan Milosevic (5 pages! — when 5 paragraphs would have sufficed).

I am concerned that there is a disease growing among US leftists who have thrown off one orthodoxy — adopt another which I will call Chomskyism: i.e. — "Everything the US or its allies does has to be wrong." The problem with this orthodoxy is that it leads to ill-starved cul-de-sacs like old Noam's flirtation with the Khmer Rouge back in the 1970s. Also, it leads to such mind-blowing stupidity as a wasted 8 pages trying to present Milosevic in as positive a light as possible.

If you really followed this philosophy to its conclusion, then you should start printing excerpts from "Mein Kampf" in each issue. The United States opposed him too, so he must have been on the right track, eh?!

Sincerely,
Bill McCormick

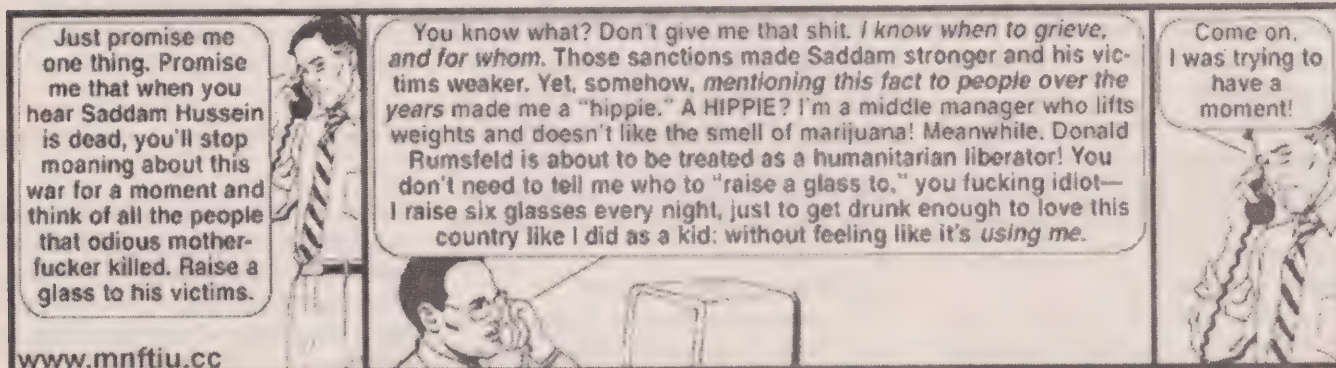
Jason responds:

For those who would rather not know what's going on in the world we recommend avoiding this magazine. What you find here is largely

"alternative" information in the sense that you won't find it anywhere else without having to search pretty hard. And even then, you'll only find bits and pieces of the information in different spots, often along with a lot of other useless information or garbage that you probably wouldn't want to sift through to get to it.

If you can name one other mainstream or (easily accessible) alternative magazine that printed Slobodan Milosevic's statement to the victor's court in the Hague I'd be very surprised. We provided this coverage because it has been (voluntarily) censored by both the mainstream and by far most of the alternative news media in this country. And this is a self-censorship of the press with which APR will never participate.

APR has no party line. We present news and critical interpretations of as many sensitive and otherwise "off limits" topics as possible. If you don't want to learn about such things, then you should stick to mainstream propaganda instead.
Jason McQuinn



www.mnftiu.cc

BUSH & THE MEDIA COVER-UP THE JIHAD SCHOOLBOOK SCANDAL

Have you heard about the Afghan Jihad schoolbook scandal? Probably not.

It has been almost unreported in the Western media that the US government shipped – and continues to ship – millions of Islamic fundamentalist textbooks into Afghanistan.

Only one English-speaking newspaper we could find has investigated this issue: the *Washington Post*.

According to *Washington Post* investigators, over the past twenty years the US has spent millions of dollars producing fanatical schoolbooks, which were then distributed in Afghanistan.

"The primers, which were filled with talk of jihad and featured drawings of guns, bullets, soldiers and mines, have served since then [i.e., since the violent destruction of the Afghan secular government in the early 1990s] as the Afghan school system's core curriculum. Even the Taliban used the American-produced books..." – *Washington Post* (3/23/02)

According to the *Post*, these violent Islamist schoolbooks, which "served...as the Afghan school system's core curriculum" produced "unintended consequences."

How could this result be unintended? Did they expect that having fundamentalist schoolbooks in the core curriculum would produce moderate Muslims?

One would assume that the unnamed US officials who, we are told, are distressed at these "unintended consequences" must previously have been unaware of the content of the schoolbooks.

But surely someone was aware. The US government can't write, edit, print and ship millions of violent, Muslim fundamentalist primers into Afghanistan without somebody in high places (in the US government) approving those primers.

You may recall that George and Laura Bush have made passionate speeches denouncing Islamic fundamentalism. At first

Mr. Bush told us we needed to attack Afghanistan in order to stop Mr. bin Laden. But later on he (and Laura Bush) told us we were fighting to crush the vicious fundamentalists.

Mr. Bush talked about the jihad primers in a March 16th radio broadcast. He held nothing back:

"And before the end of the year, we'll have sent almost 10 million of them [that is, new textbooks] to the children of Afghanistan. These textbooks will teach tolerance and respect for human dignity *instead of indoctrinating students with*

But surely someone was aware. The US government can't write, edit, print and ship millions of violent, Muslim fundamentalist primers into Afghanistan without somebody in high places (in the US government) approving those primers.

fanaticism and bigotry." (My emphasis) – Radio Broadcast, (3/16/2002)

Note the phrase, "instead of indoctrinating students with fanaticism and bigotry."

The amazing thing is not only that he tells such total lies but that he delivers them with such righteous indignation.

Here's the *Washington Post* again:

"On Feb. 4, [Chris Brown, head of book revision for AID's Central Asia Task Force] arrived in Peshawar, the Pakistani border town in which the textbooks were to be printed, to oversee hasty revisions to the printing plates. Ten Afghan educators labored night and day, scrambling to replace rough drawings of weapons with sketches of pomegranates and oranges, Brown said." – *Washington Post* (3/23/2002)

It appears that the only change is that some violent pictures have been removed from the printing plates and some fruit has

been added. There is no indication that the texts have been changed.

What does a non-fundamentalist Afghan educator think about the new schoolbooks?

"The pictures [in the old schoolbooks] are horrendous to school students, *but the texts are even much worse*," said Ahmad Fahim Hakim, an Afghan educator who is a program coordinator for Cooperation for Peace and Unity, a Pakistan-based nonprofit." (My emphasis) – *Washington Post* (3/23/2002)

According to the *Washington Post*, the "White House defends the religious content" of the schoolbooks.

Mr. Bush describes the texts of the old books as "indoctrinating students with fanaticism and bigotry." But note, having been republished in the new books, these exact same texts have undergone a transformation. They have been reborn as "religious instruction" (says US AID) or "religious content" (says the White House). It's a modern miracle.

In the body of the article itself the *Post* asserts without offering any evidence that steeping "a generation in violence" was an "unintended consequence" of giving these kids violent schoolbooks.

"Unintended consequence" is fast becoming the US Establishment's favorite excuse for the many disasters of its foreign policy. "We didn't know. We weren't prepared. We used old maps. We didn't see the train. We thought there were tanks in the refugee column. Who could have expected this to happen?" and on and on.

But does the case of the Islamic fundamentalist textbooks seem like "unintended consequences?" Or, quite the contrary, doesn't it show every indication of being "deliberate policy!" – *Jared Israel*

"Bush & the Media Cover-up the Jihad Schoolbook Scandal" first appeared at *The Emperor's Clothes* web site (www.emperors-clothes.com). A longer, unedited version of this article is available at www.emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/jihad.htm.

2003: Another torturous year ahead?

"Nothing changes on New Year's Day..." (U2)

In the corporate media equivalent of a scoop, Dana Priest and Barton Gellman of the *Washington Post* "broke" the story of US torture of Arab and Afghan "detainees." The Dec. 26 article, perfectly timed to get lost in the holiday shuffle, begins like a bad spy novel: "Deep inside the forbidden zone at the US-occupied Bagram air base in Afghanistan, around the corner from the detention center and beyond the segregated clandestine military units, sits a cluster of metal shipping containers protected by a triple layer of concertina wire. The containers hold the most valuable prizes in the war on terrorism – captured al Qaeda operatives and Taliban commanders."

Priest and Gellman report that those refusing to cooperate are "sometimes kept standing or kneeling for hours, in black hoods or spray-painted goggles" or "held in awkward, painful positions and deprived of sleep with a 24-hour bombardment of lights" (euphemistically termed "stress and duress" techniques). And these are the lucky ones.

Other detainees (POW status conveniently denied) are handed over to "allies of dubious human rights reputation, in which the traditional lines between right and wrong, legal and inhumane, are evolving and blurred," write Priest and Gellman who quote an unnamed official source as explaining: "We don't kick the [expletive] out of them. We send them to other countries so they can kick the [expletive] out of them."

Former CIA inspector general Fred Hitz claims the Agency doesn't "do torture" but if a country offers information gleaned from interrogations, "we can use the fruits of it." This approach, called

"operational flexibility," is allegedly something new.

At a Sept. 26 joint hearing of the House and Senate intelligence committees, Cofer Black, then head of the CIA Counterterrorist Center declared: "After 9/11 the gloves come off."

This is certainly news to the rest of the world where US-sponsored torture is hardly a revelation.



There are many examples of direct US torture, i.e. a 1975 Senate investigating committee exposed US methods of interrogating pairs of Vietcong prisoners. In one case, when the first prisoner refused to speak, he was thrown from an airplane at 3,000 feet. The second prisoner answered all questions but was thrown from the plane anyway. Other techniques involved cutting off fingers, fingernails, ears, or sexual organs of one prisoner while the other looked on.

However, thanks to CIA and US training, the true American torture legacy lies in the bloody fingerprints found across the globe. Consider SAVAK, Iran's

notorious Shah-era secret police created jointly by the CIA and Israel. Amnesty International deemed SAVAK's history of torture as "beyond belief."

In 1960s Greece, under the rule of paid CIA operative George Papadopoulos, US-equipped police used methods like shoving "a filthy rag, often soaked in urine, and sometimes excrement" down the throat of suspected communists.

During the CIA's holy war against the USSR in Afghanistan, the US-trained and funded Moujahedeen drugged captured Soviet soldiers and kept them in cages. A

reporter from the Far Eastern Economic Review told of Soviet soldiers killed, skinned, and hung in a butcher's shop. "One captive," he reported, "found himself the center of attraction in a game of buzkashi," an Afghan form of polo using a headless goat as the ball. In this case, the Soviet captive was used, alive. "He was literally torn to pieces," said the reporter.

Ronald Reagan called the Nicaraguan contras "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." This noble group of "freedom fighters" regularly attacked civilians, cutting off women's breasts and men's testicles, gouging out eyes, beheading infants, using children for target practice, and slitting throats and pulling the victim's tongue out through the slit. One 14-year-old girl was gang-raped and decapitated. Her head was placed on a stake as a warning to government supporters in her village. The chairman of Americas Watch and Helsinki Watch concluded "the US cannot avoid responsibility for these atrocities."

Elsewhere in Latin America, Dan Mitrione, head of Orwellian-named US Office of Public Safety trained the Brazilian police force in the 1960s. One of the techniques Mitrione taught involved placing the end of a reed in the anus of a naked man hanging suspended. The other end of the reed is soaked in oil and lit. In Uruguay, Mitrione was called in to help deal with the Tupamaros, a group

(Continued on page 21)

The Powell Doctrine: Baghdad/Jenin/My Lai

With the US poised to attack Iraq, it's helpful to recall what pushed us over the brink last time ... the invisible steps and the unspoken consequences.

In the fall of 1990, when the US Congress was debating going to war, Amnesty International (AI) released an explosive report detailing how Iraqi soldiers had taken Kuwaiti babies out of incubators and left them to die on hospital floors. Many US Senators later claimed it was the Amnesty "dead baby" report that finally convinced them to use vicious force against the Iraqis.

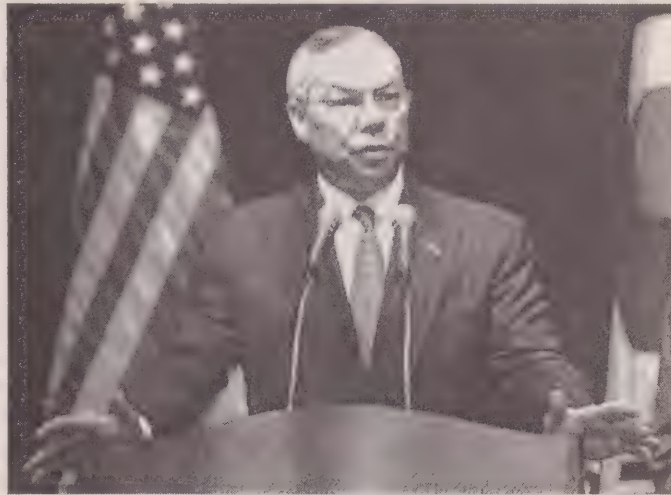
Minor glitch. It was soon revealed that the Amnesty report was a complete sham – Kuwaiti propaganda put together by the PR firm Hill & Knowlton. The Summer 2002 edition of *Covert Action Quarterly* describes how political infighting at AI had pitted a board member (who said the report was too "sloppy" and "inaccurate" to release) against a high-level official at Amnesty UK, now suspected of having been an undercover British intelligence agent, who released the sham report anyway.

Regardless, the attack on Iraq had already begun and television viewers worldwide were absorbing endless footage of laser-guided bombs, pinpoint missiles and other "precision warfare" that miraculously seemed to destroy machinery without harming civilians. Back home, flag-waving hysteria followed Operation Desert Storm to its climax, and returning conquerors, including then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, were feted as national heroes.

Minor glitch. A few months later it was revealed that actually 100,000 to 200,000 Iraqis, many of them unarmed civilians, had died during the six-week

attack, including tens of thousands mowed down in aerial assaults as they were trying to flee along what became nicknamed "The Highway of Death."

Equating civilians and combatants is integral to "The Powell Doctrine" which recommends using overwhelming force on the enemy, regardless of civilian casualties. In his autobiography, Colin Powell discusses the Vietnam War and explains the benefits of destroying the



food and homes of villagers who might sympathize with the Viet Cong: "We burned the thatched huts, starting the blaze with Ronson and Zippo lighters ... Why were we torching houses and destroying crops? Ho Chi Minh had said people were like the sea in which his guerillas swam. We tried to solve the problem by making the whole sea uninhabitable. In the hard logic of war, what difference does it make if you shot your enemy or starved him to death?"

Unmentioned is the moral implication of targeting civilians, or why doing so would make them want to sympathize with the US.

A few years later, Colin Powell was an up-and-coming staff officer, assigned

to the Americal headquarters at Chu Lai, Vietnam. He was put in charge of handling a young soldier, Tom Glen, who had written a letter accusing the Americal division of routine brutality against Vietnamese civilians; the letter was detailed, its allegations horrifying, and its contents echoed complaints received from other soldiers. Rather than speaking to Glen about the letter, however, Powell's response was to conduct a cursory investigation followed by a report faulting Glen, and concluding, "In direct refutation of this (Glen's) portrayal, is the fact that relations between Americal soldiers and the Vietnamese people are excellent."

Minor glitch. Soon after, news surfaced about the Americal division's criminal brutality at My Lai, in which 347 unarmed civilians were massacred; Powell's memoirs fail to mention the Glen incident.

Fast forward to April 2002, and having risen to Secretary of State, Colin Powell reported

to a US congressional panel about his visit to the Jenin refugee camp, site of a recent Israeli attack. Powell testified, "I've seen no evidence of mass graves ... no evidence that would suggest a massacre took place ... Clearly people died in Jenin – people who were terrorists died in Jenin – and in the prosecution of that battle innocent lives may well have been lost." In the same vein, Amnesty International issued a short release stating that while it appeared "serious breaches of international human rights and humanitarian law were committed ... only an independent international commission of inquiry can establish the full facts and the scale of these violations." For its part, the White House also claimed more facts were

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needed, and then Bush called Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon a "man of peace."

So in essence, the whole Jenin attack would need to be swept under the carpet because (since Israel had not allowed a UN investigation and NGOs had come up with very little) there was not enough solid information to support accusations.

Minor glitch. Unmentioned is the fact that the US military, under the auspices of learning about urban warfare, had accompanied the Israeli military on its attack on Jenin (*Marine Corps Times*, 5-31-2002). Or the fact that dozens of foreign journalists witnessed 30 Palestinian corpses being buried in a mass grave right near the hospital. Or the fact that local hospital personnel describe seeing the Israeli military loading other corpses "into a refrigerated semi-trailer, and taking them out of Jenin" (which would answer the question posed in Amnesty's release, "What was striking is what was absent. There were very few bodies in the hospital. There were also none who were seriously injured, only the 'walking wounded'. Thus we have to ask: where are the bodies and where are the seriously injured?").

Moral of the story? Truth is often the first casualty of war. Before we hang our hopes on heroes or unquestioningly believe what we hear from even the most reliable sources, we need to dig deeper to find the real story. Second, while the US was appropriate to be outraged at the targeting of its civilians in the September 11 attacks, we should extend that outrage to scenarios in which our government targets, or is complicit in targeting, civilians elsewhere. — *Heather Wokusch*

Intelligence tests are often used by employers to weed out brainless job candidates, but an increasing number of UK companies use a test designed to identify candidates who are too smart. The idea behind the Wonderlic Personnel Test is that people can be too stupid or too bright for a job. If too bright, they might become bored and leave, or they might spread a mood of frustration and disenchantment throughout the workplace.

Employers who use the Wonderlic test take the threat of over-intelligent workers very seriously. For example, many US police force job applicants have been rejected for scoring too highly in the test (one applicant sued in federal court for unfair disqualification).

The extensive use of the Wonderlic test (it's the world's most widely used employee intelligence test) has a sinister implication. The corporate world seems fully aware that most jobs require relatively low intelligence. High intelligence is seen as a hindrance, because there's no way that intelligent people would tolerate 40 hours of tedious monotony every week. It follows that full employment – the holy grail of conservative politicians – would require low intelligence in most of the population. But the only guaranteed way to achieve this is mass lobotomy.

The majority of jobs being created seem to be low-paid and soul-destroying: telesales, security, office administration, etc. If large numbers of intelligent people are forced into tedious jobs, the frustration

they feel must be managed and contained, otherwise their employers won't profit. After herding people into office buildings, how do you keep them productive, week after week, in activities which insult their intelligence?

To an extent, industry has always had this problem. Captains of industry have forever been on the lookout for ways to increase management control of worker productivity. Modern psychology, in particular, has been a happy hunting ground for company bosses wanting to maximise performance and discipline.

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One branch of psychology has provided important advances in management control. In the early 1900s, behaviourism revolutionised psychology by focusing entirely on objectively measurable human responses to stimuli. Subjective mental states like happiness or boredom were dismissed as irrelevant to the scientific process. At the same

time, a scientific management approach was taking hold in industry – for example, time and motion studies emphasised observable, measurable worker behaviour. The job of both the psychologist and the manager was to manipulate the human environment to produce the desired results.

Behaviourism treated people like rats in a maze, and it wasn't too long before Gestalt psychologists challenged this reductionist, mechanistic view. Scientific management was also criticised: studies conducted in the 1930s showed that

Heather Wokusch is a freelance writer and her writings are available at her web site at: www.heatherwokusch.com

worker productivity was not determined entirely by the workplace, but had as much to do with the feelings and perceptions of workers.

During the 1950s, behaviourism became popular again, largely due to the work of B.F. Skinner. After a lot of experimenting on rats and pigeons, Skinner made some important advances on classical Pavlovian conditioning (he developed the concept of "operant conditioning"). Skinner's advanced conditioning techniques found their way into industry by way of organisational behaviour modification and contingency management.

Modern office technology provides managers with the ultimate behaviourist tool: continuous remote monitoring of employee activity. There's nowhere to hide anymore. And we shouldn't be fooled by company PR about sensitivity to the feelings of employees. In spite of occasional management trends towards a warmer, more humanistic approach (consideration of the needs and goals of individuals, etc), behaviourism remains the favourite approach of those who like to be in control.

Another relevant area of psychology is cognitive dissonance, which sheds light on the peculiar psychological torture experienced by many office workers. Cognitive dissonance is a term for what happens when we think or act in ways which contradict our self-image. For example, some job roles require us to behave in an "out of character" way. This can be uncomfortable, embarrassing and stressful. We normally escape the discomfort of cognitive dissonance by distracting ourselves (get a coffee, read a newspaper, etc), but with no distractions available, we experience a kind of restless, self-loathing ennui.

Office jobs supply the two main ingredients of mental agony: cognitive dissonance and prolonged monotony. This diabolical combination is probably the biggest source of psychological suffering in Western civilisation, leading to vast amounts of stress. Dissonance is the

mysterious factor which turns boredom into a major health hazard.

Our "cult of individual" makes us particularly prone to cognitive dissonance because of our need to see ourselves as stable, self-contained beings. We regard personal identity as something unchangeable and absolute – a view which ignores the whole of modern psychology. Consequently, we underestimate the role of social setting in influencing our behaviour.

If you spend a lot of time in the same social setting, it's eventually going to get to you. If you join the army with an expectation of remaining aloof from the military mentality, then you're in for a nasty shock. Anyone starting an office job, expecting to escape office politics,

**"If work were so pleasant, the rich would keep it for themselves."
- Mark Twain**

corporate-speak, employee pettiness and chronic boredom, is going to have a hard time coming to terms with their own behaviour in that environment.

Due to the nature of modern workplaces (authority hierarchies, politics, tangled communication, boredom), employees often do irrational things. For example: concealing what they're doing from their boss, acting evasively, making dubious excuses, telling lies, subtly redirecting blame, feeling intense resentment over trivial matters, reporting that everything is fine when it isn't, etc. Obviously this kind of behaviour doesn't fit the beliefs we have about ourselves as essentially good, decent, rational and professional.

How can you come to terms with your pathetic employee-persona if you see yourself as basically honest and

dignified? The only way to deal with your "out of character" behaviour is to justify and rationalise it. But that means making excuses, which is even more undignified. The only real escape from this torture is to quit your job.

A smart person with a boring, pointless job (i.e. a fairly typical job) suffers the crippling cognitive dissonance of: "I am intelligent – most of my days are spent in meaningless stupidity." If there is no choice but to continue the job (due to money needs and a harsh labour market), more dissonance arises: "I am a free person – I cannot escape this situation."

Most companies promote the idea of freedom with endless corporate jargon about "choice" and "opportunity." This is a crude attempt to hide the fact that employees have no free choice. At most, they have an economic dilemma: continue the job or suffer the humiliation of welfare.

We're rats in a behaviourist maze. Behaviourism describes the external control: the supply or withdrawal of money and social status. Cognitive dissonance describes the inner state of mind: confusion, discomfort and impotence. Together, they contain the potentially vast social discontent resulting from compulsory full employment.

Cognitive dissonance could be dispersed if we replaced the word "employee" with "slave". Then there'd be no confusion about our slave-identities. Most people would want to see slavery reduced rather than extended. Full "employment" would be recognised as full slavery. At that point there would probably be a social consensus to dismantle the behaviourist mechanisms that keep us enslaved. – *Brian Dean*

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US Biological Terrorism in Colombia

How Dr. Mengele Might Wage the Drug War

Hostile intentions toward the people of another country. Deployment of chemical weapons and biological agents. Pursuit of a scorched earth policy. Sound like Saddam's Iraq? Think again. This neatly capsulizes the Bush administration's ongoing depredations in Colombia, all under the shady banner of the war on drugs.

The big difference is that Saddam's hideous use of poison gas against the Kurds and, possibly, against Iran occurred more than 15 years ago. Since the Gulf War, Saddam's mad pursuits have been more on the order of chemistry experiments in bombed out basements. But the Bush administration's toxic war on Colombian peasants is happening now, day after day, in flippant violation of international law.

Indeed, as Bush offers pious homilies on Iraq's possible hoarding of so-called Weapons of Mass Destruction, his administration and its backers from both parties in congress are poised to unleash a new wave toxins in the mountains of Colombia, including a dangerous brew of biological weapons its proponents rather quaintly call mycoherbicides, AKA Agent Green.

The leading germ war hawk in the congress these days is Rep. Bob Mica, a Republican from Florida. In mid-December, Mica called on his pals in the Bush administration to uncork a currently banned batch of killer fungi and begin a campaign of saturation spraying. "We have to restore our mycoherbicide," Mica fumed. "Things that have been studied for too long need to be put into action. We found that we can not only spray this stuff, but we found that we can also deactivate it for some period of time – it will do a lot of damage – it will eradicate some of these crops for a substantial period of time."

Of course, Agent Green also kills everything else it touches. There's not

even a pretense to call these germ bomblets, "smart fungi." This is the drug war as it might be waged by Dr. Mengele. Mica's bracing call for an unfettered germ war on Colombia should jotted down by junior legal eagles with dreams of becoming future prosecutors of war crimes. But Mica is far from a lone crazed voice. Even the perpetually conflicted Colin Powell is on record supporting the use of biological agents as a key part of



Rep. Bob Mica, a Republican from Florida and leading proponent of biowarfare in Colombia.

Plan Colombia. Indeed, Anne Peterson, the US ambassador to Bogota, testified recently that she believed bio-weapons had already been deployed in Colombia. Bizarrely, she later retracted this chilling observation, saying that it had been made under duress. Ms. Peterson didn't say who had applied the thumbscrews.

Then there's Rand Beers, one of the few holdovers at the State Department from Clintontime. It's easy to see why this biowar zealot appealed to the Bush crowd. Back in the late 90s, Beers was all for using germ weapons on crops in drug-producing countries. Now, as Assistant Secretary of State for narcotics, Beers trots across the globe to various international conferences where he invariably is forced to defend this toxic footnote to Plan Colombia against critics who charge that it violates, among other treaties, the Biological Weapons Convention. Beers often says that the toxic weapons are needed to fight international crime syndicates. This heady bit of sophistry is hardly an exemption from the prohibitions, which, it must be pointed out, the Bush administration doesn't believe in anyway, even though they are trigger-happy to invoke its provisions against enemy states, such as Iraq.

So, as in Macbeth, sin plucks on sin.

Agent Green is a genetically engineered pathogenic fungi, conjured up by the US Department of Agriculture's experiment station in Beltsville, Maryland. It is now being produced with US funds by Ag/Bio Company, a private lab in Bozeman, Montana and at a former Soviet bioweapons factory in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The labs are brewing up two types of killer fungi, *Fusarium oxysporum* (slated for use against marijuana and coca plants) and *Pleospora papveracea* (engineered to destroy opium poppies).

The problem is that both fungi are indiscriminate killers, posing threats to human health and to non-target species. Add to this the fact that when sprayed from airplanes and helicopters, Agent Green will be carried by winds and inevitably drift over coffee plantations, fields, farms, villages, and water supplies.

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Agent Green also threatens the ecology of the Colombian rainforest, one of the most biologically diverse on the planet. These forests harbor a greater variety of species per acre than any country's. But the Colombian forests are already under frightful siege from gold mining, oil companies, logging outfits and cattle ranching. By one count, Colombia has already lost more than a third of its primary forest and continues to lose forest at a rate of 3000 square miles (or nearly 2 million acres) a year. It's possible that the Agent Green operation may saturate more than a million acres of Colombian rainforest, with potentially devastating ecological consequences for endemic wildlife and plants.

So it's likely that Amazonia could become collateral damage in the Bushites' bio-war adventurism.

This grim prospect may place the US squarely in violation of yet another international treaty which Bush, the former cocaine tooter, is charmingly unacquainted: the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (ENMOD). ENMOD grew out of the worldwide outrage sparked by the use of Agent Orange and other environmentally malign potions plastered across Southeast Asia during the Vietnam war. Adopted by the UN in 1976 and signed by the US, ENMOD prohibits any signatory nation from using the environment as a weapon of war, which the spraying of Colombia constitutes by definition.

The US bio-bomblets can't even be made to stay in Colombia, but, like the pesticides and fumigants already dropped, will inevitably stray across the Colombian border into Ecuador and Peru. Both nations vehemently oppose the US biowar plan and charge that it violates international law. Specifically, they cite a non-proliferation section of the Biological Warfare Convention that

prohibits the transfer of germ weapons and technology from one nation to another. Presumably, the Bush administration now considers Colombia a wholly owned colony, where even remote Andean valleys are in the toxic grip of the US empire.

"If Agent Green is used anywhere, it will legitimize agricultural biowarfare in other contexts," says Edward Hammond, director of The Sunshine Project, the anti-biowar group that has done excellent work in exposing the environmental consequences of toxic spraying in Colombia. "Reasoning in a similar manner as the US, others might prepare a

Presumably, the Bush administration now considers Colombia a wholly owned colony, where even remote Andean valleys are in the toxic grip of the US empire.

biological attack on the US tobacco crop, which poisons millions worldwide, or those opposed to alcohol might target grapes or hops."

Eradication programs are a foolhardy way of addressing problems associated with drug consumption. It doesn't work, it oppresses the weak, and merely plays into the pockets of the drug profiteers, from the cocaine generals to the drug cartels and the banks who launder the money.

"In much of rural Colombia, there is simply no way to make a legal living," says Adam Isacson, of the Center for International Policy. "Security, roads, credit, and access to markets are all missing. The most that many rural Colombians see from their government is

the occasional military patrol or spray plane. When the spray planes come, they take away farmers' illegal way of making a living, but they do not replace it with anything. That leaves the farmers with some bad choices. They can move to the cities and try to find a job, though official unemployment is already 20 percent. They can switch to legal crops on their own and risk paying more for inputs than they can get from the sale price. They can move deeper into the countryside and plant drug crops again. Or they can join the guerrillas or the paramilitaries, who will at least keep them fed."

Of course, the drug war has little do with the real motives of this ghastly program. The truth of this can be divined in the numbers. Billions in US aid and thousands of gallons of chemical pesticides have been poured on Colombia with little dent in coca production. In fact, the flow of drugs from Colombia is increasing at a rapid clip.

Back when the Clinton administration was pushing a somewhat reluctant congress to approve its multi-billion project dubbed Plan Colombia, none other than Rand Beers swore that the spray and burn tactics would "eliminate the majority of Colombia's opium poppy crop within three years." Congress bought Beers' song and dance, approving \$1.3 billion dollars. (As a pre-condition for receiving the money, Congress required Colombia to begin operational testing of bioweapons. Bowing to world pressure, President Clinton waived the requirement.)

In the past five years, nearly a million acres of land in Colombia has been blitized by pesticides and fumigants, rendered as sterile as the fields of Carthage after Scipio Africanus' last cruel visit. But over the same period production of cocaine in Colombia has more than tripled. Opium production is also soaring, increasing by more than 60 percent since 2000. Colombia now accounts for more than 30 percent of the heroin consumed in the US.

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Biowarfare in the Andes

The reason for this will be obvious to anyone who has read our book *Whiteout: the CIA, Drugs and the Press*. War, especially covert ones, and drugs go hand in hand. Colombia is mired in a three-way civil war, with each side, guerillas, paramilitaries and the government troops, funding their operations from proceeds from the sale of drugs. The bloodier the conflict, the greater the flow of drugs.

But from the beginning Plan Colombia was only ostensibly about drugs. It was really a way to use the drug war to underwrite the Colombian military's savage war against the FARC and other rebel groups and secure US control over Colombian oil, gas and mineral reserves. The so-called eradication programs have targeted areas controlled by the FARC, rather than even larger swaths of land held by paramilitaries, serving as vicious proxy-warriors for the Colombian government.

According to Rep. Bob Barr, since the implementation of Plan Colombia at least 22 US helicopters have been shot down by Colombian rebel groups—a figure the Pentagon coyly refuses to confirm or deny. However, the State Department confirmed that last month 3 US planes were struck by groundfire on the same day.

The US presence in the war is being waged under the jurisdictional banner of the State Department, so often in the past a sign of the darker presence of the CIA and other covert warriors. In December, Colin Powell revealed his intention to up the permanent fleet of US attack helicopters in Colombia to 24. The State Department informed congress that new pilots were being trained at “a classified location” in New Mexico.

Now, it appears that the Bush administration has given Congressman Mica the greenlight to work his dark magic on the reauthorization of Plan Colombia, where he would insert language once again requiring the use of Agent Green as condition of the Colombia government getting its hands on US billions. These days they don't even go to the bother of trying to hide the strings.

There's plenty of evidence that Colombian government is now totally under the sway of Washington and will be only too happy to oblige, even if that means allowing the US to launch biological warfare attacks on its own peasants.

In a bracing irony, Colombia now presides over the UN Security Council, which is poised to clobber Iraq for hiding its history of bioweapon development. Indeed, it was the Colombian delegation that made the controversial call to hand over an early copy of Iraq's weapons declaration, which the US generously returned a week later—minus 8,000 pages.

This scandalous project drones on under the radar of the mainstream press, ever loath to tackle seriously any topic wrapped in the holy robes of the drug war. Yet, what it really adds up to is a form of environmental terrorism. The toxic wasteland and human suffering left in the wake of these operations is not accidental, not, to use the fetching term of the economists, a uncomfortable externality of an otherwise benign project.

Instead, it is a calculated tactic, designed to evoke fear, and terror—the carpetbombing of the drug war. Don't say the toxic warriors in the Bush administration aren't bibliophiles.

Obviously they've read *Silent Spring*. Only not as the stark warning Rachel Carson intended, but as a war plan which they are now bent on putting into global action. — *Jeffrey St. Clair*

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Another torturous year ahead?
(continued from page 17)

William Blum calls “perhaps the cleverest, most resourceful, and most sophisticated urban guerillas the world has even seen.”

Under the guidance of Mitrione, the Uruguayan Senate found that torture had become a “normal, frequent, and habitual occurrence.” Techniques included electric shocks to the genitals, electric needles under the fingernails, and use of “a wire so thin that it could be fitted into the mouth between the teeth and by pressing against the gum increase the electrical charge.”

Such tactics were honed in Mitrione's own soundproof basement room. Blum writes of Mitrione's use of four street beggars to demonstrate the effects of different voltages on different parts of the body. All four men died.

Mitrione was eventually kidnapped and killed by the Tupamaros. At his funeral, White House spokesman Ron Ziegler stated: “Mr. Mitrione's devoted service to the cause of peaceful in an orderly world will remain as an example for free men everywhere.” Imagine if he was allowed to take the gloves off.

As one official who has supervised the recent capture and transfer of accused terrorists told Priest and Gellman: “If you don't violate someone's human rights some of the time, you probably aren't doing your job.”

“Everything can change on a new year's day...” (Rage Against the Machine)

Mickey Z. is the author of *Saving Private Power: The Hidden History of the “Good War”* (www.softskull.com) and *The Murdering of My Years: Artists and Activists Making Ends Meet* (www.murderingofmyyears.com).

'LET'S ROLL!'



Parallel And Linked Genocides: Iraq And Palestine

By Edward S. Herman



In "Parallel And Linked Genocides: Iraq and Palestine" Edward S. Herman examines the role the media have played in the ongoing genocides against Iraq and Palestine by the United States and Israel. Edward Herman is Professor Emeritus of Finance at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. This essay first appeared at Swans Commentary (www.swans.com), a web site providing a forum for ideas that is lacking in the mainstream media.

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Remember the optimistic forecasts of a dozen years ago that in a post-Soviet world, without the bitter conflict of two competing systems, and with the triumph of the liberal capitalist West, we would soon see the spread of peace, tolerance and prosperity? The reverse has happened: corporate concentration and globalization, and the aggressive projection of the now uncontained military power of the United States, have helped erode democratic substance and increase inequality, conflict, ethnic cleansing and open warfare on a global scale.

What is truly remarkable, however, is that in this New World Order, genocide, supposedly something the world community would "never again" allow to happen after the horror of the Nazi Holocaust, has become more commonplace, in process today in two separate but neighboring locales, with the two politically linked to one another. It is also notable that these parallel and mutually-supportive genocides are being implemented by the superpower that claims to be a repository of a higher morality, and by its Israeli client, widely regarded in the United States as a "light unto others" (Anthony Lewis), and whose Jewish citizens are heirs of the victims of the Nazi genocide.

In these ongoing genocides the United States has been the dominant factor, carrying out one of them directly and facilitating the second by aid to, and protection of its implementer. It has pressed the "sanctions of mass destruction" that have decimated the Iraq population, and it is preparing for a war of aggression against that victim state and populace that should add to an already immense death toll. Israel, on its side, has been engaged

in the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians for half a century, with crucial U.S. economic and military aid and diplomatic protection, but it has stepped up its cleansing pace under the protection of George Bush and the "war on terror." The United States uses Israel as its proxy to help it maintain domination in the Middle East and for other services, and Israel uses the United States to help it pursue a "redeeming the land" from non-Jewish inhabitants in the occupied territories.

For Israel, Iraq has been a rival local power that it is happy to have its protector destroy and occupy, and as noted by numerous Israeli and other commentators — but ignored in the U.S. mainstream media — under the cover of the war which the United States is preparing to unleash, Israel will be able to ethnically cleanse the occupied territories more rapidly. This possibility is under active discussion in Israel itself. The two genocides are also linked by the close connection between the military establishments of the two states, and by the force of the powerful pro-Israel lobby in the United States, which advances Israeli interests by pushing for U.S. aid and protection to Israel, and, currently, by pressing for a war against Iraq, which again will serve Israeli interests. This lobby has not only helped control media debate and made congress into "Israeli occupied territory," it has seen to it that numerous officials with "dual loyalties" occupy strategic decision-making positions in the Bush administration (see Kathleen and Bill Christison, "A Rose By Another Name: The Bush Administration's Dual Loyalties," *Counterpunch*, Dec. 13, 2002).

The word "genocide" has been used too freely in modern times, and as in the case of "terrorism," it is applied with the double standard that is so familiar and so integral to the Free Press's propaganda service. William Safire states that "our patrol of a no-fly zone in Iraq...protects Iraqi Kurds from genocide" (*The New York Times*, Feb. 26, 2001), but Safire would never suggest that the Turkish Kurds need protection from genocide, let alone Iraqi civilians subjected to U.S.-sponsored sanctions, bombings, and prospective massive attack. The word was used frequently by the mainstream media in reference to Serb actions in Kosovo, and earlier to their operations in Bosnia; but as regards U.S. policy toward Iraq or Israeli actions in the occupied territories, on the rare occasions when the word appears it is always something that only Arabs and other foreigners allege. For example, "genocide" was used in *The New York Times* 85 times in application to the Serbs in Kosovo in 1999, 16 times in Op-Ed columns; but the word shows up only nine times in reference to Israel in 1999, never in an editorial or Op-Ed column, and always referring briefly to allegations by non-Americans.

It is also notable that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY, or Tribunal) has used the word genocide freely, with Milosevic and numerous others indicted

for allegedly carrying out that crime. In 1996 Radovan Karadzic was accused of "genocidal intent" based in good part on a statement he made in 1991 calling on Alija Izetbegovic to recognize the Bosnian Serb desire to remain in Yugoslavia — Karadzic said "do not think that you will not perhaps make the Muslim people disappear, because the Muslims cannot defend themselves if there is a war — How will you prevent everyone from being killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina?" Although this muddled sentence was made as a warning to avoid a war, it was presented by the Tribunal as serious evidence of genocidal intent. U.S. warnings that it might "end states" harboring terrorists, and scores of Israeli statements dehumanizing their victims and expressing an intent to displace or otherwise get rid of non-Jews in Eretz Israel are treated differently in the West.

Arguably, policies that carry state terrorism to the point of mass killings for political ends and "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" (Article 2(c) of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide),

constitute genocide. The sanctions policy carried out against Iraq, which was installed following the destruction of major civilian facilities affecting health and nutrition during the 1991 Persian Gulf war, would seem to meet that condition of genocide, and the imminent war against the crushed populace will reinforce this conclusion. The 1991 destruction of the water and sewage systems were clearly understood by U.S. officials to threaten civilian health; one Defense Intelligence Agency document of 1991 states that "Conditions are favorable for communicable disease outbreaks, particularly in major urban areas affected

by coalition bombing" (Thomas J. Nagy, "The Secret Behind the Sanctions: How the U.S. Intentionally Destroyed Iraq's Water Supply," *The Progressive*, September 2001). Numerous U.S. and British interventions in the sanctions process since then have prevented their repair, as well as denying other aid to the suffering civilian population (Joy Gordon, "Sanctions as a Weapon of Mass Destruction," *Harper's Magazine*, Nov. 2002). Among many similar statements by high-ranking U.S. officials, Robert Gates stated in 1991 that "Iraqis will be made to pay the price while Saddam Hussein is in power." That is, this has been intentional mass killing with no apparent limit until the objective of "regime change" is achieved.

The numbers killed in Iraq have already been impressive: estimates run from 1-1.5 million, about half small children. Back in 1996 Madeleine Albright conceded on national TV that 500,000 children might have died as a result of sanctions, but she said this was "worth it." Karl and John Mueller, writing in *Foreign Affairs* ("Sanctions of Mass Destruction," May/June 1999), concluded that the sanctions had killed more Iraqis than had been killed by "all the weapons of mass destruction in human

The numbers killed in Iraq have already been impressive: estimates run from 1-1.5 million, about half small children. Back in 1996 Madeleine Albright conceded on national TV that 500,000 children might have died as a result of sanctions, but she said this was "worth it."

history." Needless to say, the numbers killed by the sanctions tower above the totals in Bosnia, that were greeted with horror in the West as a clear case of genocide (the numbers killed there were almost surely under 60,000, although the Bosnian Muslim estimate of 200-250,000 was taken as gospel by David Rieff et al. [see Diana Johnstone, "Fools' Crusade," 53-55]). The UN now estimates that a U.S. war could place 10 million Iraqis in further jeopardy, especially in light of their dependence on government aid for survival and the likely effect of the war on transport and communication.

Thus, it must be regarded as one of the miraculous achievements of war-supportive propaganda that the U.S. media have not only kept this 12-year ongoing genocide out of sight, but have also made the U.S. concern for removing Saddam and getting rid of his "threat" into a great moral crusade — the United States as benevolent genocidist! The media describe U.S. patience as exhausted with the bad man — who had been supplied with weapons of mass destruction by the United States (and Britain), and who had used them only under U.S. diplomatic protection in the 1980s. Perhaps the Indonesian media in the years of Indonesian genocide in East Timor (1975-80) made Indonesia into a moral force, doing its noble duty in preventing infidels from taking power in the victim state. They couldn't have surpassed the performance of the Free Press, which has literally hidden an ongoing genocide in the process of helping its leaders prepare the public for war — and for an add-on genocide.

Israel's genocidal policies have been advancing slowly but surely, as the Israelis have been engaged in a long-term process of ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in order to "redeem the land" for Jews.

This has been the clear aim from Theodore Herzl in 1895 — "the process of expropriation...must be carried out discretely and circumspectly" — to Ariel Sharon in 1998 — "Everything we don't grab will go to them." The victims have resisted, mainly by peaceable means, as in the first intifada, where more than a thousand Palestinians were killed by the ethnic cleansing state. But then, in Intifada 2, the even more desperate Palestinian population resorted to suicide bombing violence. Peaceable means had achieved nothing — the UN and "international community" had failed over the course of decades to end the relentless ethnic cleansing. Intifada 2 has produced an Israeli escalation of violence and a new structure of genocidal thought within Israel on policies of immiseration and "transfer," that threatens further advances in "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction, in whole or in part."

What Israel has been able to get away with is stunning. First, it is an openly racist state, explicitly designed for Jews, with others automatically second class citizens — a "Herrenvolk

democracy" ruled by a "master people," says Baruch Kimmerling, a sociologist at the Hebrew University in Tel Aviv. If Jews were treated in France as Israel's Arab citizens have been treated in Israel there would have been a huge international outcry about antisemitism and racism, and France would have been condemned and ostracized. Israel is the only nation privileged to be a racist state, able even to give Jews abroad more rights in Israel than indigenous Arabs.

Back in 1999, Harvard "human rights" professor and newly appointed *New York Times Magazine* regular contributor Michael Ignatieff, explained why the Serbs could be expected to kill Albanians at Racak: "The reason is simple...only in Serbia is racial contempt an official ideology." This was a straightforward lie: Belgrade was a multi-ethnic city and Albanians living there were not subject to discrimination, and in his famous 1989 speech in which he allegedly proclaimed nationalist-ethnic superiority, Milosevic said that "Yugoslavia is a multiethnic community, and it can survive only on condition of full equality of all nations that live in it." No statement conflicting with this one can be

found in his speech, and nowhere does he proclaim ethnic superiority or an intent to ethnically cleanse. On the other hand, you will find no statement like Milosevic's from Ariel Sharon, or from the late Yitzhak Rabin for that matter, but you can locate dozens expressing racial contempt and an intention to ethnically cleanse. But Michael Ignatieff has not yet found these worthy of attention as he channels his human rights concerns elsewhere, and dissembles in the process.

Second, Israel has long been able to ethnically cleanse and settle its privileged people in the occupied territories in violation of the claimed Western moral aversion to ethnic cleansing, the

consensus of the world community, and international law. The phrase "ethnic cleansing," like "genocide" used freely by the media to describe Serb operations in Bosnia and Kosovo, is almost never applied to Israel's operations in the occupied territories, although the phrase is far more applicable there than in the Balkans (for data, see my "Israel's Approved Ethnic Cleansing, Part 3," *Z Magazine*, June 2001). In Bosnia you had an ugly 4-5 year war for territorial control that involved ethnic cleansing among three competing parties, with the supposedly weaker party (the Bosnian Muslims) given major aid by NATO, Saudi Arabia, and the mujahidin — whereas Israel ethnically cleanses a virtually unarmed populace, with massive U.S. military aid, over decades. In Kosovo there was only a civil war (though supported from the outside) — and the Serbs were never pushing out Kosovo Albanians, to make way for Serb occupancy. By contrast, in the territories occupied by Israel, the ethnic cleansing is very clearly to make way for settlements by the "chosen people." Only Palestinian homes are demolished and only their olive and fruit trees uprooted by the thousands.

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The Palestinians in the occupied territories are now regularly treated with contempt, humiliated, and with Geneva Convention violations “committed daily, hourly, even every minute by the Israeli authorities against Palestinians” (Amnesty International, April 2, 2002). They are called “lice,” “grasshoppers,” “cockroaches,” and “cancers that need to be removed,” by high officials of the state, with no critical reaction in the West.

Once again, we find that Michael Ignatieff came through with great indignation at Serb expulsions in Kosovo, based again on a lie: Ignatieff stated that “Milosevic decided to solve an ‘internal problem’ by exporting an entire nation to his impoverished neighbors...a final solution of the Kosovo problem.” He neglected mentioning that the exodus of Albanians occurred only *after* NATO began its bombing war; that the KLA was working in coordination with NATO during this war and that Serb attacks and expulsions were concentrated in strong KLA areas and can therefore be explained by military demands and strategies; and that a higher percentage of Serbs than Albanians fled during the bombing war. But again, while indignant in his dissembling about Serb expulsions, Ignatieff is silent about the Israeli ethnic cleansing that is real, open and purposeful; a case also where there are ongoing discussions of “exporting an entire nation” to Israel’s impoverished neighbors. Ignatieff has found that carefully channeled indignation in accord with the state agenda pays off, and that even lying in the cause entails no penalty.

Despite the extreme clarity of the Israeli ethnic cleansing program the Free Press focuses on the “worthy” victims (Israelis), not on the “unworthy” ones (Palestinians) being expropriated, in accord with their government’s agenda. This parallels the press usage of “terrorism” and “retaliation,” again in close accord with a political agenda. In Israel itself, resisting army officers, holocaust survivors, and numerous intellectuals repeatedly point to the occupation and ethnic cleansing as the root of the problem: that “Israel is not defending its democracy, but an ethnic-supremacist regime...[that] rules over millions of people under atrocious conditions of blockade and curfew” (Aeyal Gross, Tel Aviv University); and when will the world “stop neglecting the fact that the goal of the Israeli Government is not security, but the continued occupation and subjugation of the Palestinian people?” (Lev Grinberg, Ben Gurion University). Israel’s leaders “have built a hothouse for rearing suicide bombers. A person

whose beloved brother has been killed, whose house has been destroyed in an orgy of vandalism, who has been mortally humiliated before the eyes of his children, goes to the market and buys a rifle” (peace activist Uri Avneri).

More recently, critical Israeli analysts have been stressing the Israeli leadership plans to accelerate their genocidal operations (Ur Shlonsky, “Zionist Ideology, the Non-Jews, and the State of Israel,” University of Geneva, Feb. 10, 2002 — quotes that follow are from this article). In this analysis, it is recognized that the first order of business is to crush the Palestinian resistance: “The civilian population must be terrorized, assuring maximal destruction of property and cultural resources.” Second, in preparation for expulsions like those of 1948, a war must be encouraged. In parallel, “the daily life of the Palestinians must be rendered unbearable: They should be locked up in the cities and towns, prevented from exercising normal economic life, cut off from workplaces, schools and hospitals. This will encourage emigration and weaken the resistance to future expulsions.” Third, the Palestinian political class must be eliminated by assassination or expulsions. Fourth, settlement activity must continue and expand to produce facts on the ground.

All of this will stimulate “terrorism” on the part of the victims, but that will be good — it will sow fear in the Israeli population and play into the hands of the hardliners. Thus, “all the elements are put in place for what Des Forges, in another context, called ‘the genocidal campaign.’ Further, continued Kamikaze actions and the media coverage they elicit furnish a central element in the struggle to rally world opinion to the Zionist Cause.” As this genocidal campaign will cause criticism abroad, despite the efforts of the Western media to put it in the best possible light, Jewish communities abroad must be mobilized to protect the Israeli operations. “In this context it becomes necessary to utilize and in the long run to encourage, the hatred of Jews in Europe and elsewhere in order to create Jewish solidarity with the Zionist project.” This will involve casting aside a long tradition of Jewish support for enlightened secular and universalist goals in favor of a parochial purpose that demands backing radical ethnic cleansing and genocide itself, led by Likud leaders like Sharon and Netanyahu.

In short, conditions are ripe for ridding Palestine of its unwanted non-Jewish occupants. The Palestinians in the occupied territories are now regularly treated with contempt, humiliated, and with Geneva Convention violations “committed daily, hourly, even every minute by the Israeli authorities against Palestinians” (Amnesty International, April 2, 2002). They are called “lice,” “grasshoppers,” “cockroaches,” and “cancers that need to be removed,” by high officials of the state, with no critical reaction in the West. The Israeli populace has suffered heavy casualties and is fearful and prone to listen to leaders who promise them “security” through more forceful action against the Palestinians.

The surge of suicide bombings has brought into power leaders like Ariel Sharon, with a long record of ruthlessness and anti-civilian violence, perfect to implement an advanced system

of ethnic cleansing, including "exporting an entire nation" to neighboring states. The Israeli genocide now under Sharon management has thus far not involved mass killing, although the levels have been impressive (1,200 Palestinians killed and 9,900 injured by Israel Defense Forces in the territories in 2002). The Israeli method has been to make the conditions of life of the Palestinians unbearable, by destroying their infrastructure, reducing them to penury, isolation, humiliation, fear, and hopelessness. This state terrorism is designed to make them subject to easy domination in Bantustans, to induce their "voluntary" transfer, and to ready them for forced mass expulsion.

In Israel, Sharon can speak of "taking advantage of the opportunity" presented by a battle in Hebron to "minimise the number of Palestinians living among Jewish settlers," and Benjamin Netanyahu can say "we are going to cleanse the whole area and do the work ourselves" and these statements are kept in the black hole in the Western media (cited only by Henry Siegman in the *International Herald Tribune*, Jan. 7, 2003) — while the Yugoslav Tribunal looks desperately for statements like these from Milosevic that would justify his condemnation for "genocide"!

Sharon can escalate his violence because the Bush administration has given him a blank check to ethnically cleanse, if done with moderate discretion. How much discretion is needed will depend on the media's cooperation, and that has been exemplary. In Israel itself, Gideon Levy reports that "If the acts of killing and the arrests are marginally reported by the media, the imprisonment of the entire Palestinian people is continuing uninterrupted and unreported. Whole cities, parts of which lie in ruins, are under almost unceasing curfew; an entire population is unable to move from one village to the next...without the authorization of the occupation army — but within the Israeli public there is not even an echo of this" (*Haaretz*, Dec. 20, 2002).

The same low-key reporting characterizes the U.S. media, who have long treated Sharon as a respectable and responsible statesman rather than a world class state terrorist. They do not report on, dramatize with stories of personal suffering, or criticize with any indignation his cruel siege against a virtually unarmed populace, or the enlarging settlements — and they have never focused on or criticized these for racist discrimination, ethnic cleansing, and illegality. These daily attacks, humiliations, and policies of beggaring the population, have been normalized, placed occasionally on the back pages, as the mainstream media handled reports of Nazi killings of Jews during World War II. The media refuse to address, let alone criticize, the policy intent of the Sharon government, which clearly includes possible "transfer." Henry Siegman states that Sharon has boasted to his inner circle of his new freedom of action, where, in contrast with a year ago his forces "move about as they please throughout the entire West Bank and Gaza, and no one says anything." This sets the stage for the next phase of the genocidal project.

The world community has opposed Israel's policies for decades, but Israel can pursue them because the United States prevents effective action against the ethnic cleanser, and even

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actively supports its ethnic cleansing. General Assembly votes on action to restrain Israel and to force it to adhere to Security Council rulings usually run about 150 or 160 to 2 or 3. Israel is also in continuous violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention which prohibits an occupying power from taking over land of the occupied territory and abusing its populace. Israel has long ignored this, with U.S. protection.

The world community has also opposed the U.S.-British-organized Iraq genocide by sanctions and threatened war against Iraq. But here also, the "international community" has done nothing to interfere with the 12 years of sanctions, and has even allowed these partners to use the UN as their instrument of death-dealing. The international community is putting up only token resistance to the planned war of aggression. Kevin Begley comments with some justice that the UN resolution 1441 calling for intensified inspections "is the greatest example of appeasement since Chamberlain gave in to Hitler over Czechoslovakia." Instead of challenging the planned aggression the Security Council has given the United States a UN cover to justify it, with numerous built-in trip-wires for finding "material breaches" and rationalizing war that the Bush administration will take advantage of unless the political cost appears too high.

The media and pro-Israel lobby have played a crucial role in facilitating this double genocide. As noted, the public is unaware of the fact that their government is already responsible for a major genocide in Iraq, as it prepares for the add-on genocide. The victim state is seen as a serious threat to the pitiful giant. As regards Israel, its actions and plans are also kept largely out of view; words like ethnic cleansing and genocide are not used to describe its policies, and in another miracle of Orwellian or even Kafkaesque proportions, the suicide bombings of the primary victims are featured heavily, the systematic reduction of Palestinian life to stone age conditions in the interests of a "Greater Israel" is back page or black hole material. The stage is set for escalated transfer and genocide with the commencement of the add-on genocide against Iraq.



THE NAZIFICATION OF ISRAEL

By Aijaz Ahmad

By brazenly resorting to Nazi-style rhetoric and methods of persecution in Palestine, Israel, with the consent of the majority of its own people and the unlimited support of the United States, perpetrates the kind of crimes that the Jewish state claims as the *raison d'être* of its own creation in 1948.

In "The Nazification of Israel" Aijaz Ahmad examines the increasingly harsh language, rhetoric and actions of Israel against the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Aijaz Ahmad is a visiting professor at the Department of Political Science at York University. This essay first appeared in the bi-weekly Indian magazine Frontline (<http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/>), a national magazine from the publishers of The Hindu (www.hinduonnet.com).

A decisive shift that has been perceptible for some time seems now to be substantially in place in Israel, from settler-colonialism of the familiar kind to full-scale Nazification. For virtually the whole of its existence, Israel has modelled itself upon the South African racist regime of the apartheid days: a settler colony, calling itself a "Jewish state" and asserting a manifest right to "the Biblical lands" for a "Chosen People" defined by race and religion, it has been unwilling to grant equal rights to the original inhabitants of the land owing to differences of race and religion, and unwilling even to pay compensation, let alone a right of return, to refugees created by its colonial wars.

Israel has of course always had the choice of dismantling its own racist character and accepting the creation of a secular, democratic bi-national state in which Israelis and Palestinians could live as equal citizens, as the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) began proposing soon after the 1967 war. Short of that, Israel could alternatively agree to a final peace settlement on the basis of two fully sovereign states, one Israeli

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and the other Palestinian, living side by side on the historic land of Palestine. Chairman Yasser Arafat, the head of the Palestinian Authority (P.A.), declared his acceptance of such a solution in an unusual 'Op-Ed' article in *The New York Times* as recently as February 2002, even as Israel holds him captive in his Ramallah home and methodically assassinates his close associates.

Instead, Israel has relentlessly carried out a policy that Nelson Mandela has called "worse than apartheid" and the Speaker of the Greek Parliament has recently characterised as "genocide." Even in the earlier stages of the present assault, Ze'ev Sternhell, Israel's leading scholar on fascism, could already write that the government "is no longer ashamed to speak of war when what they are really engaged in is colonial policing, which recalls the takeover by the white police of the poor neighbourhoods of the blacks in South Africa during the apartheid era." This idea of "colonial policing" was in fact already there quite explicitly in the calculations of the Israeli government even when it entered the so-called 'peace process' and signed the Oslo Accords of 1993. That was clarified as early as 1998 by the Israeli academic Shlomo Ben-Ami just before he joined the Ehud Barak government, going on to become Barak's chief negotiator at Camp David in the summer of 2000. Ben-Ami observed that "in practice, the Oslo agreements were founded on a neo-colonialist basis, on a life of dependence of one on the other forever."

However, as the Barak-Sharon combine provoked the current Palestinian uprising that came to be called the Al-Aqsa Intifida (see "Israel's Killing Fields," *Frontline*, November 24, 2001, for documentation of this deliberate provocation), and then used the Palestinian retaliation to put in place a policy of punishing the population as a whole, perceptions of the scale and nature of new brutalities began to shift. Some of the world's most prestigious newspapers, ranging from Israel's own *Ha'aretz* to the French *Le Monde Diplomatique*, have repeatedly accused it of "war crimes" that "fall under the Geneva Conventions of 1949", as the latter put it a couple of months ago. Indeed, the United Nations Security Council has time and again reminded Israel that its conduct in the Occupied Territories is fully covered by those conventions. This worldwide — and repeated — reference to the Geneva Conventions with regard to Israel's conduct is particularly significant in the sense that those conventions were originally formulated in response to the Nazi war crimes and with a view to the de-Nazification of Germany.

The point that Israel is actively acting on the model of the Nazis was made, for example, by Assaf Oran, one of the more than one thousand Israeli reservists who have refused military duty in the current war on the Palestinian people, in an 'Open Letter to American Jews' which he published on the eve of Passover this year, in response to a massive outpouring of anger against his 'refusenik' comrades: "Where were all these holy souls, who now

scold *Tikkun* [an organisation supporting 'refuseniks'] because they indirectly allude to the Nazi horrors, where were they all when a senior IDF [Israeli Defence Forces] officer proudly called, 'in order to beat the Palestinians, let's be Judeo-Nazis'." The well-known Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* has also quoted an Israeli officer exhorting his men to study the tactics adopted by the Nazis during the Second World War: "If our job is to seize a densely packed refugee camp or take over the Nablus Casbah, and if this job is to be given to an Israeli officer to carry out without casualties he must before all else analyse and bring together the lessons of past battles, even — shocking though this might appear — to analyse how the German Army operated in the Warsaw Ghetto."

It is of course horrific and sinister that an officer of the Jewish state that legitimises all its crimes in the name of the Jewish victims of the Nazi crimes would hold up one of the cardinal Nazi crimes — their brutalising of the trapped and defenceless Jewish souls of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1944 — as the model of behaviour that should now be emulated by Jewish soldiery. And yet, the officer who said that does seem to possess a macabre kind of honesty — for, it is precisely on the model of the Warsaw Ghetto that the Israeli army has been treating the Palestinians in their camps and villages and townships, in Ramallah and Jenin, in the Dheheisha and Batala camps, in Bethlehem and now Nablus, and throughout the occupied territories.

And what treatment? In an article titled 'The Jewish State must be deNazified, as Thoroughly as Germany after 1945,' Israel Shamir, an Israeli journalist who is based in Jaffa and often contributes to *Ha'aretz*, describes one morning's work in a small village:

It is warm in the low hills bordering the plain; purple-dark lupines, a favourite flower of March, run along the dirt track from the refugee camp to a nearby quarry. The place is swarming with soldiers, who assist the security in the selection job. Men are separated from their womenfolk; they are handcuffed by mass-produced plastic handcuffs, standard black sacks on their heads. They are taken to the quarry, beaten, some are shot, and some are tortured. Their houses were demolished by huge Caterpillar machines. Twenty men are executed by 8 o'clock. It is another morning of ethnic cleansing in Palestine... In another world, twenty miles away, Israelis fight with heavy road traffic. It is another day of shopping and entertainment.

He then goes on to say: In today's (March 12, 2002) *Ha'aretz*, Amnon Barzilai reports on the new opinion poll carried out by the Jaffa Institute of Strategic Studies. According to it, 46 per cent of Jews in Israel support mass deportation (transfer) of the Palestinians. If the question is asked in a more 'soft' form, the support for the Final Solution rises to 60 per cent.

Nazis never openly declared their intention to massacre Jews and Gypsies, they spoke of 'deportation' and 'transfer' as their 'Final

Solution'. Even in 1938, these ideas did not have such wholehearted support in Nazi Germany, as they have now in the Jewish state.

A good example is provided by the Jewish American law professor from Harvard, Alan Dershowitz, who writes in the *Jerusalem Post*, owned by Sir Conrad Black, (March 3, 2002): "The first act of [Palestinian] terrorism should result in the destruction of a small village which has been used as a base for terrorist operations. The residents would be given 24 hours to leave, and then troops will come in and bulldoze all of the buildings." It was the standard practice of Nazi troops in occupied Europe.

Palestinian hospitals, camps, schools, institutes and all networks of civil administration or mutual help have been attacked mercilessly. Doctors, Red Crescent staff and church caretakers have been shot and killed indiscriminately. Women have been forced to give birth to stillborn children while waiting at Israeli checkpoints and denied medical help. Village after village, camp after camp, have been deprived of water, electricity, consumer items, methodically and on a massive scale. In Bethlehem alone, neither the university nor the city centre was spared as 140 tanks battered the population in an attack that did not spare even foreigner residents. With the occupation of Nablus on April 4 the reconquest of the Occupied Territories is now well-nigh complete.

As Gideon Levy wrote in *Ha'aretz* on March 17, 2002: Most of the suffering was experienced by the entire population: Hundreds of thousands of residents were kept under terrifying house arrest. Many were evicted from their homes or forced to spend long days with dozens of neighbours who are half-strangers in the same apartment. There were tanks in the streets, bombers and attack helicopters in the skies, frightened children held captive in their homes... It was all inflicted on an entire nation — collective punishment on a scale not previously known.

I HAVE cited and quoted from Israeli sources, including its most prestigious newspaper, deliberately. For, much of the horror of Israeli Nazification is that it is not something that the government alone is practising against the will of the general populace. Nor is it something practised by a fascist fringe or a militarised institution without the knowledge or active complicity of that populace. Rather, facts are known very commonly. Nazi Germany had no free press, no universal access to television and other international electronic news media, nothing resembling the modern Internet on which news circulates globally and freely. Israeli citizens have all this, and the horrors are reported in the country's own major newspapers and journals.

Most crucially, Nazi Germany was a brutal dictatorship whereas Israel is for its Jewish citizens a freewheeling, liberal democracy; everyone knows and the great majority consents. Ariel Sharon is an elected Prime Minister, heading a bipartisan government in which the Defence and External Affairs portfolios are held by the two main

leaders of the Labour Party. On the other side, what happens to the courageous minority that dares to resist actively also becomes quite clear from passages such as the following, which Professor Neve Gordon of the Ben Gurion University wrote on March 6: "As to the situation here, it is getting unbearable by the day. We tried to dismantle a roadblock the other day near Hebrew U and were beaten by the police. Three women had their hands broken, one had her head opened. I was beaten while in custody with my hands handcuffed behind my back. Sharon bombed Gaza this morning."

Israel's Nazification needs no dictatorship since plenty of sturdy little Hitlers seem to be securely ensconced in a great many number of hearts.

Resistance, of course, goes on. There are, for example, influential veterans of the peace movements such as Shlomo Avineri who wrote the following for his peace group, Gush Shalom, on March 23, to help his readers make sense of the sources of Palestinian desperation and counter-violence:

When tanks run amok in the centre of a town, crushing cars and destroying walls, tearing up roads, shooting indiscriminately in all directions, causing panic to a whole population — it induces helpless rage... When soldiers crash through a wall into the living room of a family, causing shock to children and adults, ransacking their belongings, destroying the fruits of a life of hard work, and then break the wall to the next apartment to wreak havoc there — it induces helpless rage...

When soldiers shoot at everything that moves — out of panic, out of lawlessness, or because Sharon told them "to cause losses" — it induces helpless rage... And then it appears that the rage is not helpless after all. The suicide

bombers go forward to avenge, with a whole people blessing them and rejoicing at every Israeli killed, soldier or settler, a girl in a bus or a youngster in a discotheque.

"Give me a hatred gray like a sack," wrote our poet, Nathan Alterman, seething with rage against the Germans. Hatred gray like a sack is now everywhere. Bands of armed men now roam all the towns and villages of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with or without black masks (available for 10 shekels in the markets). These bands do not belong to any organisation. Members of Fatah, Hamas and the Jihad team up to plan attacks, not giving a damn for the established institutions. Anyone who believes that Arafat can push a button and stop this is living in a dream-world.

A similar message comes from a man hardly to be identified as a peacenik, Ami Ayalon, a former head of Shabak, Israel's security service, who told *Le Monde*, "We say the Palestinians behave like 'madmen,' but it is not madness but a bottomless despair... Yasser Arafat neither prepared nor triggered the intifada. The explosion was spontaneous, against Israel, as all hope for the end of occupation disappeared, and against the Palestinian Authority, its corruption, its impotence." He then went on to say, "I favour unconditional withdrawal from the Territories — preferably in the context of an

agreement, but not necessarily: what needs to be done, urgently, is to withdraw from the Territories. And a true withdrawal. If they proclaim their own state, Israel should be the first to recognise it and to propose state to state negotiations, without conditions."

That this comes from a former security chief punctures all governmental claims that this brutalisation of the population and infinite occupation of their land and water resources is essential for Israeli security.

Then there are those 'refuseniks', over a thousand now — ordinary young men, officers, even Generals — who refuse orders for active duty in their national Army, and senior former officials who defend them. Michael Ben-Yair, Attorney-General from 1993 to 1996, for example, wrote this in *Ha'aretz* (March 15, 2002):

The intifada is the Palestinian people's war of national liberation... this process is anchored in the moral justification behind every people's war of national liberation.... No need to repeat the details of the painful phenomena entailed in the occupation regime and in our battle to prolong it. Suffice it to recall the killing of little children fleeing for safety; the executions, without trial, of wanted persons who were not on their way to launch a terrorist act; and the encirclements, closures and roadblocks that have turned the lives of millions into a nightmare.

It is against this background that one must view the refusal of IDF reservist officers and soldiers to serve in the Territories. In their eyes, the occupation regime is evil and military service in the Occupied Territories is evil. In their eyes, military service in the Occupied Territories, which places soldiers in situations forcing them to commit immoral acts, is evil, and, according to their conscience, they cannot be party to such acts. Thus, their refusal to serve is an act of conscience that is justified and recognised in every democratic regime.

AGAINST the Nazified majority, then, there is a vocal minority which includes the country's major intellectuals and journalists as well as former senior officials, even a large number of reservists, who are not willing to buy into the government's bellicosity. And yet, Sharon's belligerence knows no bounds. In late January, he said that he was sorry he did not 'liquidate' Arafat in 1982, at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In late March, he gave an interview to the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth*, in which he said: "In retrospect, there was one commitment [to Bush] that I took upon myself that was a mistake. The commitment was not to harm Arafat." In the same interview he also bragged that the rest of the world was really no longer concerned about what he had been perpetrating: "When we moved 300 metres into Area A, the entire world was shocked. Imagine what would have happened had we done then what we are doing today. I got the world accustomed to those incursions. Everyone understands us."

That is strictly not true. Despite Sharon's virtually pathological hatred of Arafat, it is precisely on the question of the latter's safety that he has had to face pressure from diverse quarters. The Foreign Ministers of China and Japan, and Morocco's King Mohammed, called either him or the Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, to voice their concern. Jack Straw, the British Foreign Secretary, called upon

Sharon to pull back his tanks from Arafat's headquarters. Germany's Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, said in a statement: "The German government urgently appeals to the Israeli side to guarantee Palestinian President Arafat will not be harmed."

France has been proposing for a year that an international force be interposed between Israeli forces and the Palestinians to keep the peace, just as Arafat has been saying. Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission, has asked the United States "to step aside" and let a much broader international coalition take charge of structuring a ceasefire. Javier Solana, the European Union's chief foreign policy official, has spoken against Israel's "military folly" and the Vatican itself has warned against "Palestinian humiliation." The Security Council has for the first time passed a resolution "affirming a vision of a region where two states, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognised borders". In a final vote, the resolution was passed by 14-0, with Syria abstaining because it considered the text to be too "weak" since it neither established a time-frame nor addressed the problem of Palestinian refugees nor specified other terms of the larger settlement.

In this perspective, then, Sharon's claim ("I got the world accustomed to those incursions. Everyone understands us.") is either a lie or a serious case of self-delusion. Whence, then, his bellicose cockiness? First, the extent of domestic support. He has the entire political elite, with few exceptions, behind him — indeed, sitting in his government — while the Nazification of much of the general populace is well advanced and on the rise. Even much of the so-called 'peace camp' refuses to face up to the hard questions: the eventual fate of the refugees, the settlements in the Occupied Territories, or the final status of East Jerusalem. All are agreed that Israel must remain a 'Jewish state' and the Palestinian refugees - a quarter of the world's total number of refugees, according to the U.N. - therefore cannot be granted the right to return to their ancestral homes, even in theory (how many will now want to return to a 'Jewish state', after having built lives elsewhere, is of course a different question). Even Arafat's public offer that he would be willing to discuss the problem of refugees in the light of "Israel's current demographic situation" — that is, the idea that all would have the right to return is no longer realistic — falls on deaf ears. And no one is willing, of course, to confront the 400,000 rightwing bigots whom men like Sharon have been 'settling' in the Occupied Territories over the past 35 years. Much of the 'peace camp' itself does not thus stand for a settlement that Palestinians can possibly accept. This is Sharon's great domestic strength.

HOWEVER, the main strength comes now, as it has always come, from the United States — in two forms. One is the virtually unlimited financial, diplomatic and military support. The U.S. has so far gifted Israel close to a hundred billion dollars — the largest gift any state has ever given to another. Similarly, Israel has always been able to get whatever military technology or weapons systems that it has wanted, with no restrictions on how the weapons are to be used. It can thus use even F-16 fighter aircraft and Apache helicopter gunships to terrorise the civilian population and attack the

Palestinian police or even civilian targets without having to account for such savageries.

In the diplomatic arena, the U.S. vetoes or forces modification of any resolution or plan which is not to Israeli liking and protects it from foreign pressure. Israel can even obstruct some of the U.S. plans without fearing the kind of reprisals that are routine for Third World countries, or even the sort of pressure that allies like Britain tend to face. This is perhaps the only instance in which the client dictates to the financier more than it is the other way round.

This special relationship goes back to the 1950s and 1960s when western Asia was seething with communist and radical-nationalist movements and regimes, and the U.S. was seeking a reliable, strategic ally that could keep the region at bay. As a settler colony, Israel was at odds with the very region where it was located and was seeking western allies anyway, while the U.S. was in the first flush of its project to replace Britain and France as the dominant power in the region; they needed each other. The alliance got a big boost in 1967 when Israel destroyed a large part of the Egyptian and Syrian armies, precipitating a terminal crisis of Arab secular nationalism, which is what the U.S. wanted. A decade later, the loss of military bases in Iran meant that Israel became the main, almost exclusive, military ally in a region where the U.S. has strategic oil interests, central to the containment of Soviet influence on the one hand and militant Islam on the other. Conversely, Israel has become increasingly more integrated into the militarised U.S. economy. There have been years when the aggregate transfer of funds — counting all grants, guarantees, and receipts from various budgetary allocations — from the U.S. to Israel has reached close to \$10 billion.

Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, when Sharon was Defence Minister, came only when the Reagan administration gave the green signal and the Lebanese Hizbollah got listed by the U.S. as a 'terrorist' organisation because it was the main player in getting Israel to vacate the occupation of southern Lebanon; the strategic aim of Israel in the present offensive probably includes the re-occupation of that Lebanese territory. Similarly, the U.S. has clearly given the green signal for the present assault and re-occupation of the Occupied Territories. It has since then shielded Israel against unfavourable developments everywhere, as for example by using its veto in the Security Council against a resolution — supported by all other members as well as the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson — that unarmed U.N. monitors be stationed in the Occupied Territories. Richard Holbrooke simply said that "no force would be supported without Israeli approval". It is thanks to the U.S., actually, that nothing at all has ever been possible in the region "without Israeli approval".

THE latest Saudi Arabian plan, which has been so much in the news and which the Arab press has taken to calling the 'American plan', should be seen in this perspective. There is actually nothing new about it, in the sense that peace and recognition for Israel in

exchange for the Occupied Territories has been a staple of many a peace initiative in the past, many of them enjoying broad support from conservative Arab governments. The Security Council Resolution of January 1976 said basically the same things, as did the 1981 Fahd plan, which obviously also came with Saudi backing. The Israeli establishment, including Shimon Peres and other such alleged "doves", has always held that Israel's security needs require that it keep part of the territories that it occupied in 1967; some 22 per cent according to the "doves" (Allon, Rabin and so on), 58 per cent according to Sharon.

It is a sign of the times that Arafat seems to have embraced this American-Saudi plan as a way to salvage his skin and his so-called 'Palestinian Authority', which is already a shambles. Reservations have come from Syria and from other, radical quarters which have argued that recognition and guarantees of security and peace for Israel cannot be offered unilaterally unless and until a schedule for Israeli withdrawal from the Territories is already in place and a framework is firmly established for all other issues, such as the matter of Palestinian refugees, Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and Lebanon's security against Israeli incursions.

Israel, which is just completing its re-occupation of the Occupied Territories, of course has nothing but contempt for a plan that requires it to vacate them, but it is an "American plan" precisely to the extent that it offers Israel all sorts of concessions without engaging it on the crucial issues. It is unlikely that the Saudi plan shall be any more successful

than the plethora of preceding ones.

All that the U.S. really wants is some sort of device that saves the rightwing Arab regimes from the impending wrath of their own people sufficiently to let them join the U.S. crusade against Iraq. By the same token, America's only displeasure with Israel is that its policies are preventing the formation of a coalition that it needs for that invasion. In other words, the U.S. is caught in the contradictions of its own policies. It has allowed Israel to go much too far for some settlement now to emerge quickly, but without such a settlement the U.S. itself cannot achieve its immediate goals in the region.

Time (March 17, 2002) quotes a U.S. official in Cairo: "We've been sending dispatches for a year telling them that the only thing the people care about here is the Palestinian question, but they've ignored it... There's not a single Egyptian who would be willing to say O.K. on Iraq unless they see a change in the way the U.S. deals with the Palestinians." And then the magazine goes on immediately to quote a U.S. official in Amman: "All I know is if we invade Iraq, I'll be on the first evacuation plane out of here because this place is going to explode."

Palestinian fighters may not know it, but it is probably their courage in the face of one of the world's most infernal military machines that may yet save Iraq, at least for now. There are, after all, limits to what Israel's own Nazification can yield for the imperialism of our time.

BEHIND THE CARNAGE IN PALESTINE

During the June 1967 war, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, completing the Zionist conquest of British-mandated Palestine. In the war's aftermath, the United Nations debated the modalities for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the Fifth Emergency Session of the General Assembly convening in the war's immediate aftermath, there was "near unanimity" on "the withdrawal of the armed forces from the territory of neighboring Arab states occupied during the recent war" since "everyone agrees that there should be no territorial gains by military conquest." (Secretary-General U Thant, summarizing the G.A. debate) In subsequent Security Council deliberations, the same demand for a full Israeli withdrawal in accordance with the principle of "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" was inscribed in United Nations Resolution 242, alongside the right of "every state in the region" to have its sovereignty respected. A still-classified State Department study concludes that the US supported the "inadmissibility" clause of 242, making allowance for only "minor" and "mutual" border adjustments. (Nina J. Noring and Walter B. Smith II, "The Withdrawal Clause in UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967") Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan later warned Cabinet ministers not to endorse 242 because "it means withdrawal to the 4 June boundaries, and because we are in conflict with the Security Council on that resolution."

Beginning in the mid-1970s a modification of UN Resolution 242 to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict provided for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza once Israel withdrew to its pre-June 1967 borders. Except for the United States and Israel (and occasionally a US client state), an international consensus has backed, for the past quarter century, the full-withdrawal/full recognition formula or what is called the "two-state" settlement. The United States cast the lone veto of

Security Council resolutions in 1976 and 1980 calling for a two-state settlement that was endorsed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and front-line Arab states. A December 1989 General Assembly resolution along similar lines passed 151-3 (no abstentions), the three negative votes cast by Israel, the United States, and Dominica.

From early on, Israel consistently opposed full withdrawal from the Occupied Territories, offering the Palestinians instead a South African-style Bantustan. The PLO, having endorsed the international consensus, couldn't be dismissed, however, as "rejectionist" and pressure mounted on Israel to accept the two-state settlement. Accordingly, in June 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon, where the PLO was headquartered, to fend off what an Israeli strategic analyst called the PLO's "peace offensive." (Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security*)

In December 1987 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza rose up in a basically non-violent civil revolt (intifada) against the Israeli occupation. Israel's brutal repression (extra-judicial killings, mass detentions, house demolitions, indiscriminate torture, deportations, and so on) eventually crushed the uprising. Compounding the defeat of the intifada, the PLO suffered yet a further decline in its fortunes with the destruction of Iraq, the implosion of the Soviet Union, and the suspension of funding from the Gulf states. The US and Israel seized this occasion to recruit the already venal and now desperate PLO leadership as surrogates of Israeli power. This is the real meaning of the "peace process" inaugurated at Oslo in September 1993: to create a Palestinian Bantustan by dangling before the PLO the perquisites of power and privilege. "The occupation continued" after Oslo, a seasoned Israeli commentator observed, "albeit by remote control, and with the consent of the Palestinian people, represented by their 'sole representative,' the PLO." And again: "It goes without saying

that 'cooperation' based on the current power relationship is no more than permanent Israeli domination in disguise, and that Palestinian self-rule is merely a euphemism for Bantustanization." (Meron Benvenisti, *Intimate Enemies*)

After seven years of on-again, off-again negotiations and a succession of new agreements that managed to rob the Palestinians of the few crumbs thrown from the master's table at Oslo (the population of Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories had fully doubled in the meanwhile), the moment of truth arrived at Camp David in July 2000. President Clinton and Prime Minister Barak delivered Arafat the ultimatum of formally acquiescing in a Bantustan or bearing full responsibility for the collapse of the "peace process." As it happened, Arafat refused. Contrary to the myth spun by Barak-Clinton as well as a compliant media, in fact "Barak offered the trappings of Palestinian sovereignty," a special adviser at the British Foreign Office reports, "while perpetuating the subjugation of the Palestinians." (*The Guardian*, 10 April 2002; for details and the critical background, see Roane Carey, ed., *The New Intifada*)

Consider in this regard Israel's response to the recent Saudi peace plan. An Israeli commentator writing in *Haaretz* observes that the Saudi plan is "surprisingly similar to what Barak claims to have proposed two years ago." Were Israel really intent on a full withdrawal in exchange for normalization with the Arab world, the Saudi plan and its unanimous endorsement by the Arab League summit should have been met with euphoria. In fact, it elicited a deafening silence in Israel. (Aviv Lavie, 5 April 2002) Nonetheless, Barak's — and Clinton's — fraud that Palestinians at Camp David rejected a maximally generous Israeli offer provided crucial moral cover for the horrors that ensued. Having failed in its carrot policy, Israel now reached for the big stick. Two preconditions had to be met, however, before Israel could bring to bear its overwhelming military superiority: a "green light" from the U.S. and a sufficient pretext. Already in summer 2000, the authoritative Jane's Information Group reported that Israel had completed planning for a massive and

bloody invasion of the Occupied Territories. But the US vetoed the plan and Europe made equally plain its opposition. After 11 September, however, the US came on board. Indeed, Sharon's goal of crushing the Palestinians basically fit in with the US administration's goal of exploiting the World Trade Center atrocity to eliminate the last remnants of Arab resistance to total US domination. Through sheer exertion of will and despite a monumentally corrupt leadership, Palestinians have proven to be the most resilient and recalcitrant popular force in the Arab world. Bringing them to their knees would deal a devastating psychological blow throughout the region.

With a green light from the US, all Israel now needed was the pretext. Predictably it escalated the assassinations of Palestinian leaders following each lull in Palestinian terrorist attacks. "After the destruction of the houses in Rafah and Jerusalem, the Palestinians continued to act with restraint," Shulamith Aloni of Israel's Meretz party observed. "Sharon and his army minister, apparently fearing that they would have to return to the negotiating table, decided to do something and they liquidated Raad Karmi. They knew that there would be a response, and that we would pay the price in the blood of our citizens." (Yediot Aharonot, 18 January 2002) Indeed, Israel desperately sought this sanguinary response. Once the Palestinian terrorist attacks crossed the desired threshold, Sharon was able to declare war and proceed to annihilate the basically defenseless civilian Palestinian population.

Only the willfully blind can miss noticing that Israel's current invasion of the West Bank is an exact replay of the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. To crush the Palestinians' goal of an independent state alongside Israel — the PLO's "peace offensive" — Israel laid plans in August 1981 to invade Lebanon. In order to launch the invasion, however, it needed the green light from the Reagan administration and a pretext. Much to its chagrin and despite multiple provocations, Israel was unable to elicit a Palestinian attack on its northern

border. It accordingly escalated the air assaults on southern Lebanon and after a particularly murderous attack that left two hundred civilians dead (including 60 occupants of a Palestinian children's hospital), the PLO finally retaliated killing one Israeli. With the pretext in hand and a green light now forthcoming from the Reagan administration, Israel invaded. Using the same slogan of "rooting out Palestinian terror," Israel proceeded to massacre a defenseless population, killing some 20,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, almost all civilians.

The problem with the Bush administration, we are repeatedly told, is that

Indeed, Sharon's goal of crushing the Palestinians basically fit in with the US administration's goal of exploiting the World Trade Center atrocity to eliminate the last remnants of Arab resistance to total US domination.

it has been insufficiently engaged with the Middle East, a diplomatic void Colin Powell's mission is supposed to fill. But who gave the green light for Israel to commit the massacres? Who supplied the F-16s and Apache helicopters to Israel? Who vetoed the Security Council resolutions calling for international monitors to supervise the reduction of violence? And who just blocked the proposal of the United Nations top human rights official, Mary Robinson, to merely send a fact-finding team to the Palestinian territories? (*IPS*, 3 April 2002)

Consider this scenario. A and B stand accused of murder. The evidence shows that A provided B with the murder weapon, A gave B the "all-clear" signal, and A prevented onlookers from answering the victim's screams. Would the verdict be that A was insufficiently engaged or that A was every bit as guilty as B of murder?

To repress Palestinian resistance, a senior Israeli officer earlier this year urged the army to "analyze and internalize the

lessons of how the German army fought in the Warsaw ghetto." (*Haaretz*, 25 January 2002, 1 February 2002) Judging by the recent Israeli carnage in the West Bank — the targeting of Palestinian ambulances and medical personnel, the targeting of journalists, the killing of Palestinian children "for sport" (Chris Hedges, *New York Times* former Cairo bureau chief), the rounding up, handcuffing and blindfolding of all Palestinian males between the ages 15 and 50, and affixing of numbers on their wrists, the indiscriminate torture of Palestinian detainees, the denial of food, water, electricity, and medical assistance to the Palestinian civilian population, the indiscriminate air assaults on Palestinian neighborhoods, the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields, the bulldozing of Palestinian homes with the occupants huddled inside — it appears that the Israeli army is following the officer's advice. Dismissing all criticism as motivated by anti-Semitism, Elie Wiesel — chief spokesman for the Holocaust Industry — lent unconditional support to Israel, stressing the "great pain and anguish" endured by its rampaging army. (*Reuters*, 11 April; *CNN*, 14 April)

Meanwhile, the Portuguese Nobel laureate in literature, Jose Saramago, invoked the "spirit of Auschwitz" in depicting the horrors inflicted by Israel, while a Belgian parliamentarian avowed that Israel was "making a concentration camp out of the West Bank." (*The Observer*, 7 April 2002) Israelis across the political spectrum recoil in outrage at such comparisons. Yet, if Israelis don't want to stand accused of being Nazis they should simply stop acting like Nazis. — **Norman Finkelstein**

"Behind the Carnage in Palestine" appeared at the web site for Norman Finkelstein (www.normanfinkelstein.com). He is the author of *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*.

Ariel Sharon's Vision: "Maximal Killing"

Since the Bush administration has articulated a Mideast policy predicated on fighting terrorism, examining the pedigree of Ariel Sharon, Bush's "man of peace," is a task that requires some attention.

And what you find is a man drenched in blood.

Qibya is a small West Bank village not far from the Israeli border. In October, 1953, the Jewish state decided to attack Qibya in revenge for killings by infiltrators whom the Israelis thought might have come from that hamlet. Sharon was chosen to lead the mission.

Noted Israeli historian Benny Morris has unearthed the order Sharon gave his troops: "maximal killing and damage to property."¹

And maximal killing is what Sharon and his commando unit brought to Qibya on the night of October 14, 1953. Their attack left 70 dead.

The Arab Legion investigated and determined that the Israelis had moved from house to house "systematically killing" the residents before blowing up their homes.² This account, Morris says, is corroborated by Israel Defense Forces post-operational reports, which describe breaking into most of the houses and "clearing them" with fire and grenades.³

A United Nations report suggests an even more grisly sequence: "Bullet-riddled bodies near the doorways and multiple bullet hits on the doors of the demolished houses," the document says, "indicated that the inhabitants had been forced to remain inside until their homes were blown up over them."⁴

Commander E.H. Hutchison, a U.S. naval officer serving on the U.N. armistice monitoring commission, investigated the slaughter. "Here and there from between the rocks," he wrote, "you could see a tiny hand or foot protruding."⁵

Every fall in Qibya during the olive harvesting season, the memory of the attack is kept alive in a mourning ceremony. A memorial plaque behind the village mosque honors Sharon's victims.⁶

Sharon later claimed he thought the villagers had fled, leaving the houses empty. This isn't possible, historian Morris concludes. Rather, the Israeli troops "in moving through the village, had indiscriminately thrown grenades through windows, knocked down doors, and sprayed the interiors with automatic fire."⁷

Maximal killing indeed.

Sharon later described his order for "maximal killing" as referring only to the Jordanian military then controlling the West Bank. "Of course, this is misleading nonsense," is Morris' retort. "The order was to kill as many Arabs as possible, without any discrimination between civilians, National Guardsmen, and soldiers."⁸

Morris observes that prior Israeli retaliatory strikes, like this one, were explicitly designed to kill civilians.⁹

Now, Benny Morris is no fan of the Palestinians. He's a committed Zionist who lately has taken to co-authoring commentaries with former Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak.¹⁰

And Qibya was no aberration for Ariel Sharon. A 1985 Israeli biography, *Sharon: An Israeli Caesar* by Uzi Benziman,¹¹ describes two earlier incidents in which Sharon honed his murderous instincts.

He killed two women from the Arab village of Katama in order to induce a Jordanian military response.¹² Later, in a raid on the el-Burj refugee camp, his plan called for trapping the Palestinians in a lethal crossfire between two groups of soldiers.

The plan worked: 15 refugees were killed.¹³

Benziman, the biographer, describes Sharon's consistently sadistic behavior toward Arabs: His men "witnessed him laughing as a junior officer tormented an old Arab and then shot him at close range; they noted his composure as he planned operations designed to kill as many civilians as possible; they carried out his intricate plan to trap a peaceful Bedouin boy shepherding his flock."¹⁴

On another occasion, Sharon censured a junior officer for failing to kill two elderly Arabs encountered during a raid.¹⁵

Such censure wasn't often necessary, though, because Sharon's soldiers—like their leader—had come to view the Arabs, as a whole, as the enemy.¹⁶

The culmination of Sharon's vision was Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, when he was Minister of Defense. Over 20,000 people—overwhelmingly civilians—died.¹⁷

In the most gruesome episode of that ghastly affair, Israeli troops, having encircled the West Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla, stood by as Lebanese Phalangists spent 40 hours massacring the inhabitants.¹⁸

Israel says 700-800 died,¹⁹ but an investigation by Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk suggests the toll was 3000-3500.²⁰

According to Benziman, Israeli army intelligence knew of the slaughter shortly after it started. They didn't bother to stop the killing.²¹

Ariel Sharon is a man defined by his contempt for the value of Arab life, his absolute trust in military force, and his vision of peace through annihilation.

Maximal killing.

Indeed. — Robin Miller

Notes

1. Benny Morris, *Israel's Border Wars, 1949-1956*, Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 259. The Qibya affair is extensively discussed on pp. 257-276.

2. Morris, p. 261.

3. Morris, p. 262.

4. Morris, p. 261, note 91.

5. Morris, p. 261, note 91.

6. Flore de Préneuf, "An Eye for an Eye," *Salon.com*, February 6, 2001.

7. Morris, p. 262.

8. Morris, p. 259, note 87.

9. Morris, p. 259, note 86.

10. See Benny Morris, *Camp David and After: An Exchange (An Interview with Ehud Barak)*, *The New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002; and Benny Morris and Ehud Barak, *Camp David and After—Continued*, *The New York Review of Books*, June 27, 2002.

11. London: Robson Books, 1987. First published in 1985 by Adam Publishers in Tel Aviv. Benziman, who was then an editor at the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, writes, as does Morris, as a firm supporter of Israel.

12. Benziman, p. 39.

13. Benziman, p. 49.

14. Benziman, pp. 56-57.

15. Benziman, p. 73.

16. Benziman, p. 56.

17. Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, and the Palestinians*, Boston: South End Press, 1999 updated ed., p. 221 (as of late December, 19,085 had been killed, 84% of them civilians, according to Lebanese police). Since this figure included only bodies that passed through hospitals and other centers, the true total must be much higher. Chomsky, p. 223.

18. For extensive information, see the International Campaign for Justice for the Victims of Sabra and Shatila.

19. See the report of Israel's Kahan Commission.

20. See Amnon Kapeliouk, *Sabra and Shatila: Inquiry into a Massacre*, Belmont, MA: AAUG Inc., 1984.

21. Benziman, p. 264.

"Ariel Sharon's Vision" appeared at the web site for progressive freelance writer Robin Miller (www.robincmiller.com).

Rachel Corrie: In her own words

American peace activist Rachel Corrie (23) from Olympia, Washington, was murdered by an Israeli bulldozer driver on March 16, 2003 in Rafah. Rachel was in Gaza opposing the bulldozing of a Palestinian home as a volunteer with the International Solidarity Movement. Below is an excerpt from an e-mail from Rachel Corrie to her family on February 7, 2003

I have been in Palestine for two weeks and one hour now, and I still have very few words to describe what I see. It is most difficult for me to think about what's going on here when I sit down to write back to the United States—something about the virtual portal into luxury. I don't know if many of the children here have ever existed without tank-shell holes in their walls and the towers of an occupying army surveying them constantly from the near horizons. I think, although I'm not entirely sure, that even the smallest of these children understand that life is not like this everywhere. An eight-year-old was shot and killed by an Israeli tank two days before I got here, and many of the children murmur his name to me, "Ali"—or point at the posters of him on the walls. The children also love to get me to practice my limited Arabic by asking me "Kaif Sharon?" "Kaif Bush?" and they laugh when I say "Bush Majnoon" "Sharon Majnoon" back in my limited Arabic. (How is Sharon? How is Bush? Bush is crazy. Sharon is crazy.)

Of course this isn't quite what I believe, and some of the adults who have the English correct me: Bush mish Majnoon... Bush is a businessman. Today I tried to learn to say "Bush is a tool", but I don't think it translated quite right. But anyway, there are eight-year-olds here much more aware of the workings of the global power structure than I was just a few years ago—at least regarding Israel.

Nevertheless, I think about the fact that no amount of reading, attendance at conferences, documentary viewing and word of mouth could have prepared me for the reality of the situation here. You just can't imagine it unless you see it, and even then you are always well aware that your experience is not at all the

reality: what with the difficulties the Israeli Army would face if they shot an unarmed US citizen, and with the fact that I have money to buy water when the army destroys wells, and, of course, the fact that I have the option of leaving. Nobody in my family has been shot, driving in their car, by a rocket launcher from a tower at the end of a major street in my hometown. I have a home. I am allowed to go see the ocean. Ostensibly it is still quite difficult for me to be held for months or years on end

about how it would be for them to arrive in my world.

They know that children in the United States don't usually have their parents shot and they know they sometimes get to see the ocean. But once you have seen the ocean and lived in a silent place, where water is taken for granted and not stolen in the night by bulldozers, and once you have spent an evening when you haven't wondered if the walls of your home might suddenly fall inward waking you from your sleep, and once you've met people who have never lost anyone—once you have experienced the reality of a world that isn't surrounded by murderous towers, tanks, armed "settlements" and now a giant metal wall, I wonder if you can forgive the world for all the years of your childhood spent existing—just existing—in resistance to the constant stranglehold of the world's fourth largest military—backed by the world's only superpower—in its attempt to erase you from your home. That is something I wonder about these children. I wonder what would happen if they really knew.

As an afterthought to all this rambling, I am in Rafah, a city of about 140,000 people, approximately 60 percent of whom are refugees—many of whom are twice or three times refugees. Rafah existed prior to 1948, but most of the people here are themselves or are descendants of people who were relocated here from their homes in historic Palestine—now Israel. Rafah was split in half when the Sinai returned to Egypt.

Currently, the Israeli army is building a fourteen-meter-high wall between Rafah in Palestine and the border, carving a no-mans land from the houses along the border. Six hundred and two homes have been completely bulldozed according to the Rafah Popular Refugee Committee. The number of homes that have been partially destroyed is greater.

Today as I walked on top of the rubble where homes once stood, Egyptian soldiers called to me from the other side of the border, "Go! Go!" because a tank was coming. Followed by waving and "what's your name?". There is something disturbing about this



without a trial (this because I am a white US citizen, as opposed to so many others).

When I leave for school or work I can be relatively certain that there will not be a heavily armed soldier waiting half way between Mud Bay and downtown Olympia at a checkpoint—a soldier with the power to decide whether I can go about my business, and whether I can get home again when I'm done. So, if I feel outrage at arriving and entering briefly and incompletely into the world in which these children exist, I wonder conversely

friendly curiosity. It reminded me of how much, to some degree, we are all kids curious about other kids: Egyptian kids shouting at strange women wandering into the path of tanks. Palestinian kids shot from the tanks when they peak out from behind walls to see what's going on. International kids standing in front of tanks with banners.

Israeli kids in the tanks anonymously, occasionally shouting—and also occasionally waving—many forced to be here, many just aggressive, shooting into the houses as we wander away.

In addition to the constant presence of tanks along the border and in the western region between Rafah and settlements along the coast, there are more IDF towers here than I can count—along the horizon, at the end of streets. Some just army green metal. Others these strange spiral staircases draped in some kind of netting to make the activity within anonymous. Some hidden, just beneath the horizon of buildings. A new one went up the other day in the time it took us to do laundry and to cross town twice to hang banners.

Despite the fact that some of the areas nearest the border are the original Rafah with families who have lived on this land for at least a century, only the 1948 camps in the center of the city are Palestinian controlled areas under Oslo. But as far as I can tell, there are few if any places that are not within the sights of some tower or another. Certainly there is no place invulnerable to apache helicopters or to the cameras of invisible drones we hear buzzing over the city for hours at a time.

I've been having trouble accessing news about the outside world here, but I hear an escalation of war on Iraq is inevitable. There is a great deal of concern here about the "reoccupation of Gaza." Gaza is reoccupied every day to various extents, but I think the fear is that the tanks will enter all the streets and remain here, instead of entering some of the streets and then withdrawing after some hours or days to observe and shoot from the edges of the communities. If people aren't already thinking about the consequences of this war for the people of the entire region then I hope they will start.

I also hope you'll come here. We've been wavering between five and six

(continued on page 39)

The murder of Imad Abu Zahra



It took a few agonizing hours for Imad Abu Zahra to die. As I write these lines, I am looking at a photograph of the Palestinian photojournalist, very much alive. His hands are soaked in his own blood as he attempts to stop hemorrhaging from a wound to his right leg. Israeli soldiers shot Imad for taking a picture of their armored personnel carrier. They then left him to bleed to death.

Imad Abu Zahra was murdered on the same week that a Pakistani court gave the death sentence to the killer of Daniel Pearl, the *Wall Street Journal* reporter who was kidnapped and executed while covering the war in Afghanistan. At CNN and the *New York Times*, the murder of this Palestinian journalist went virtually unreported. In Yiddish supremacist circles, it always comes down to the ethnicity of the victim. The Palestinian ethnicity of this particular murder victim, a courageous reporter, did not elicit so much as a brief obituary in the *Washington Post*.

This murder case does not need Perry Mason. The Israeli occupation army knows the identity of the murderers of Imad Abu Zahra. But the perpetrators of the crime will not get so much as a reprimand for shooting this innocent journalist and denying him life saving treatment. In the last three weeks, forty-three Palestinians have been killed,

many of them women and children, many shot randomly by trigger-happy Israeli thugs.

During the twenty-two month Palestinian uprising, nearly two thousand Palestinians have been killed by the IDF and thousands of others have been wounded. Not a single Israeli soldier has been convicted of deliberately murdering Palestinians. Granted, it would be an act of monumental chutzpah for Sharon to go around pointing fingers at other Israeli war criminals.

To date, the Bush administration has given Sharon and his thugs dozens of green lights to pursue a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Palestinians. George Bush is betting that good relations with this Israeli war criminal will pay off in the November elections. There will be no demands of an investigation of the death of any Palestinians, regardless of the documented criminal evidence.

While Sharon has failed to put down the Palestinian uprising, he has managed to make George Bush complicit in every warm crime committed against the Palestinians. The Congress of the United States subsidizes every Israeli siege against every Palestinian hamlet or village. The West Bank is now divided into 220 penal colonies, every single one of them financed by American tax dollars. Every silent journalist and publisher was partly responsible for the murder of Imad

Abu Zahra. The Israeli lobby, the Evangelical extremists and the neo-conservatives are also responsible for the slaughter of every innocent Palestinian child.

The Israeli soldier who murdered Imad was not alone at the scene of the crime. Sharon and Peres were present. George Bush and Tony Blair were there. Arthur Sulzberger, the publisher of the *New York Times*, was in on the plot. Thomas Friedman, Charles Krauthammer and William Safire might as well have fired the fatal round. Wolf Blitzer was there for CNN with a mission to ignore the sight of a fellow reporter bleeding to death. The neo-fascists from FOX showed up to applaud the Israeli executioners.

Imad Abu Zahra and Daniel Pearl were technically "colleagues." Both murders merited close scrutiny by their fellow journalists. Unfortunately, Imad Abu Zahra was Palestinian and the blood that gushed out of his femoral artery was Palestinian. As he lay there on his knees, desperately trying to save his own life, pondering why he had been shot, conscious that vital medical aid was being denied, Imad gazed into the camera lens of a colleague. The photo that emerged narrates his final story, his last few hours enduring the brutality of Israeli occupation soldiers who left him to bleed to death.

I challenge any journalist with a grain of decency to take a good look at that photo. Pass it by an emergency room doctor and ask him whether the man in the photo, in shock, but still vital and vibrant, could have lived to report another story. Imad Abu Zahra should not have been shot in the first place. He was not wounded in a vital organ. The emergency medical attention that he was denied would have easily saved his life. Bleeding a Palestinian victim to death, by denying medical services, has apparently become the latest "fad" in the IDF.

If the United Nations had investigated Jenin, maybe Imad would be alive today. If the United States government and the mass media had not buried Sharon's previous war crimes at Qibya and Sabra and Shatila, maybe Imad would have

survived to provide us with photos of everyday life and death in a Palestine under siege.

I came across Imad's compelling photo in a recent issue of *Al-Ahram Weekly* which can be accessed on the web at www.ahram.org.eg/weekly. In the most recent issue (18 - 24 July, 2002), Khaled Amayreh, Graham Usher and Jonathan Cook all have compelling articles about the nature of Sharon's reconquest of the West Bank. As Amayreh reports, a French activist remarked, "I wonder how Palestinians can withstand all of this oppression. I am sure no other people on the face of earth could endure what the Palestinians are going through."

The Yiddish supremacist crowd always gets bent out of shape when you compare the brutality of the Israeli occupation to Nazi tactics during World War II. But, I would suggest to them that the practices of the Israeli occupation army are far worst than the practices of the Nazi occupation forces in Denmark, Belgium and Holland.

It takes individual Israeli soldiers to inflict war crimes against individual Palestinian victims. The ranks of the IDF are full of political extremists and expulsionists who operate without any fear of punishment. The international community must demand a case by case investigation into the random murders of Palestinians by the brutes of the Israeli occupation forces. They can start by investigating the murder of Imad Abu Zahra. — *Ahmed Amr*

"The murder of Imad Abu Zahra" first appeared at Nile Media. Ahmed Amr is the editor of the online news/opinion publication NileMedia, located at www.NileMedia.com. NileMedia is an independently operated cyber magazine that seeks to elevate the coverage of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict to a level that can withstand the light of day.

Rachel Corrie

(continued from page 38)

internationals. The neighborhoods that have asked us for some form of presence are Yibna, Tel El Sultan, Hi Salam, Brazil, Block J, Zorob, and Block O. There is also need for constant night-time presence at a well on the outskirts of Rafah since the Israeli army destroyed the two largest wells.

According to the municipal water office the wells destroyed last week provided half of Rafah's water supply. Many of the communities have requested internationals to be present at night to attempt to shield houses from further demolition. After about ten p.m. it is very difficult to move at night because the Israeli army treats anyone in the streets as resistance and shoots at them. So clearly we are too few.

I continue to believe that my home, Olympia, could gain a lot and offer a lot by deciding to make a commitment to Rafah in the form of a sister-community relationship. Some teachers and children's groups have expressed interest in e-mail exchanges, but this is only the tip of the iceberg of solidarity work that might be done.

Many people want their voices to be heard, and I think we need to use some of our privilege as internationals to get those voices heard directly in the US, rather than through the filter of well-meaning internationals such as myself. I am just beginning to learn, from what I expect to be a very intense tutelage, about the ability of people to organize against all odds, and to resist against all odds.

Thanks for the news I've been getting from friends in the US. I just read a report back from a friend who organized a peace group in Shelton, Washington, and was able to be part of a delegation to the large January 18th protest in Washington DC.

People here watch the media, and they told me again today that there have been large protests in the United States and "problems for the government" in the UK. So thanks for allowing me to not feel like a complete polyanna when I tentatively tell people here that many people in the United States do not support the policies of our government, and that we are learning from global examples how to resist.

THE GROWING CLAMOR FOR ETHNIC CLEANSING

By Ali Abunimah

An Israeli organization has published detailed plans for the "complete elimination of the Arab demographic threat to Israel" by forcibly expelling all Palestinians, including Palestinians in the occupied territories and Palestinian citizens of Israel from the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea within a 3-5 year period.

Gamla, a group founded by former Israeli military officers and settlers, published these recommendations on its website in a nine thousand word manifesto titled "The logistics of transfer," penned by Boris Shusteff last July 3. The mass ethnic cleansing of every Palestinian, the author argues, is "the only possible solution" to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and is "substantiated by the Torah." (www.gamla.org.il/english) Gamla receives tax deductible contributions from a New York-based charity that claims that its goal is greater Arab-Jewish tolerance.

The manifesto recognizes that Israel will never win widespread support for expulsion, but argues that it needs "only a modicum of support from its closest ally — the United States," in order to carry out the plan.

Under the plan, Israel would launch an information campaign and increase economic strangulation of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to force them to leave "voluntarily." One measure would be to deprive Palestinians of employment, literally starving them out (one could say that this policy is already being implemented). Palestinian citizens of Israel would face complete apartheid and religious coercion as Israel would "pass a law that will stipulate in some form that non-Jewish citizens of the state, while retaining full and irrevocable civil rights, will have no ability to participate in Israeli political life." Failing that, the paper continues, "Israeli Arabs can be given one more option - to convert to Judaism if they prefer to stay put."

At the same time, Israel will try to convince the international community to establish a Palestinian state far away from Israel and the occupied territories (in Iraq or Saudi Arabia). The author writes that: "Israel must make clear to the world community that, if a decision cannot be made within 3 to 5 years to establish a state for the Palestinian Arabs in some viable location, she will be forced to start the forced expulsion of Arabs into Jordan and the Sinai."

The expulsion plan provides details about how this will be done, in lightning military strikes: "As an example, the relocation of a small settlement (1,000 people) can be completed within a 48-hour period, similarly to a military border-crossing operation. Israel will supply the relocated community with temporary housing, water and electricity (providing tents, a generator, water cisterns, etc.). The abandoned settlement must be completely demolished level with the ground."

While Israel moves to implement the complete annexation of all the occupied territories, it would, according to the plan, have to subdue the population by carrying out war crimes and crimes against humanity if any Palestinians try to resist: "Any attempts on the part of the Arabs [Palestinians] to carry out sabotage or terrorist activity must be immediately

suppressed in the most brutal way. It is possible, for example, to implement a suggestion by Harvard Professor Alan Dershowitz, an American liberal lawyer. With slight modification, it works as follows: Israel issues a warning that, in a response to any terrorist attack, she will immediately completely level an Arab village or settlement, randomly chosen by a computer from a published list. The essence of the idea is to make the Arabs completely responsible for their own fate, and to make it clear that terrorism will not be merely tolerated, but will be harshly punished. Along with the world community, the Arabs will know

The only precedent for such a chilling and methodical approach to ethnic cleansing would be the industrialized elimination of Jews planned and carried out by Nazi Germany.

precisely what will result if they attack Jews. The use of a computer to select the place of the Israeli response will put the Arabs and the Jews on a level footing. The Jews do not know where the terrorists will strike, and the Arabs will not know which one of their villages or settlements will be erased in retaliation. The word "erased" very precisely reflects the force of Israel's response. The Arabs residing there will be evicted without compensation, all houses and buildings completely demolished, and the settlement itself, with the help of bulldozers and any other necessary equipment, will be leveled into a large field. After the appearance of several such fields the Arabs will lose any desire to commit terrorist attacks and the number of Arabs wanting to leave Eretz Yisrael will certainly increase."

The only precedent for such a chilling and methodical approach to ethnic cleansing would be the industrialized elimination of Jews planned and carried out by Nazi Germany.

Are these words merely the ramblings of an extremist group carrying no wide influence, or do they represent another step in legitimizing discussion of a once taboo idea gaining broad-based support in Israel and amongst some American Jewish organizations?

Gamla claims that it is "in the forefront of the battle for the land of Israel, organizes activities, participates in demonstrations, and publishes articles, posters and stickers for that cause," and that "most of its activities are coordinated and joined with other grassroots organizations of the national camp."

One of the group's three founders is Elyakim Haetzni, one of the first and most prominent West Bank settlers who lives in Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron. Another was the late Lt. Colonel Shlomo Baum, a founder of Israel's notorious Unit 101, which with the young Ariel Sharon as its leader carried out the brutal massacre of dozens of civilians in the Palestinian village of Qibya in 1953, among other atrocities. The third, retired Colonel Moshe Leshem, also a longtime spokesman for the settlers, has a show on Israel's settler radio network "Arutz 7" along with Haetzni.

Gamla receives tax-deductible contributions from Americans through a New York-based charity called PEF Israel Endowment Funds (www.pefisrael.org) which states that its was established in 1922 by Justice Louis Brandeis and Rabbi Stephen Wise. Among its stated purposes is "promoting greater tolerance and understanding between religious and secular communities and between Arabs and Jews." Under this liberal guise, the organization appears to be channeling funds to a group

advocating the total destruction of a nation — in other words, genocide.

The Gamla website also frequently publishes and promotes the writings of Daniel Pipes, a professional Arab-basher, and ubiquitous guest on American television talk shows.

Within Israel, Palestinians are viewed as a "demographic threat" across the political spectrum, the only difference being on how to deal with this threat. For traditional leftists, "separation" is the preferred option, while among the right-wing outright expulsion is gaining support. The debate about the "demographic threat" is carried out in overtly racist terms. In summer 2001, Haifa University professor Arnon Sofer, renewed Israeli anxieties about the fertility of Palestinian women with a study predicting that by 2020 non-Jews will be a majority west of the Jordan River. "Some Israelis say," according to *The Chicago Tribune*, "that ticking below the surface of the violent confrontation between Arab and Jew is a silent bomb, a demographic bomb." Their solution is to adopt a "Chinese rule" limiting the number of children Palestinians are allowed to have. ("Birthrates alarm Israel," *Chicago Tribune*, April 21, 2002)

While lamenting that only the Moledet party, founded by the assassinated Israeli tourism minister Rehavam Zeevi, openly advocates expulsion, the Gamla paper takes heart that recent opinion polls in Israel put support for some form of 'transfer' at 46% and in some cases 60% depending on how the question is posed.

According to Professor Majid Al-Haj of Haifa University, the struggle of Palestinian citizens of Israel is no longer primarily about achieving

equality with Jews within Israeli society, but has reverted to a more basic struggle simply to remain in their homeland against a rising tide of pro-transfer sentiment being freely expressed in Israeli Jewish society. Al-Haj, one of the few true Arab experts on Israeli society, speaking recently at the Jordan University Center for Strategic Studies, cited as an example the infamous conference in the Israeli town of Herzliya in November 2000, just months into the Intifada. At that meeting, more than three hundred prominent Israeli intellectuals, former and sitting generals and politicians, former prime ministers, and Israel's past and sitting president openly discussed ideas including "exchanges of population," limiting the democratic rights of Palestinian citizens, forcing Palestinian citizens to sign a document recognizing Israel as a Jewish state as a condition of retaining their citizenship, and the primacy of Israel's "Jewish" over its "democratic" character.

The view that non-Jews, including the indigenous Palestinians, are a mortal threat, a cancer, a bomb to be defused, echoes precisely the language of racists and ethno-nationalists everywhere. Only the claim of Israeli exceptionalism, and misuse of the memory of the Nazi holocaust, has protected Israel from the censure it deserves for allowing such views to flourish.



already Israel's Jewish majority is "only" seventy two percent, far less than the eighty one percent claimed by official figures. This difference is accounted for by the high rate and relative ease of assimilation of Christians from the former Soviet Union and guest-workers into Israeli society, something that in most other countries claiming to be liberal democracies would be seen as a desirable trend. In response to Cohen's findings Israel's Interior Minister Eli Yishai declared that "Clearly it's impossible to bar the arrival of couples in which one of the members is Jewish, but we should see to it that families that are completely Christian do not come here—including people who go to church on a regular basis." ("Demographic balancing acts," *Haaretz*, June 13, 2002)

The transfer idea is gaining ground because the common conception that Jews should live separately from everyone else provides room for it to flourish. Today there are almost no Jewish voices in Israel calling for Palestinian-Israeli coexistence on the basis of full equality regardless of religion or ethnic affiliation. One of Israel's leading lights on the left, novelist A.B. Yehoshua, while not supporting transfer, regards co-existence between Palestinians and Israelis as a thing to behold with horror. "Two people in one state," Yehoshua warned, "is a threat to our existence. Anyway, we did not come to Israel to live in a binational state, but in a Jewish state." ("Israel is losing the demographic race," *Israeltoday.co.il*) This view is typical of the Israeli left, the vast majority of which only supports some form of Palestinian statehood as a mechanism to preserve Jewish primacy. While in most countries that practice it, democracy is understood as a mechanism to protect minorities from the tyranny of the majority, among Israeli liberals democracy is only valuable as a tool to maintain the tyranny of a Jewish majority over a Palestinian minority without the embarrassment of having to adopt formal apartheid or advocate ethnic cleansing. We must be clear that the concern for maintaining a Jewish majority is about preserving power and privilege, not about protecting cultural identity, heritage and religious practice. Those can be much better protected, and enhanced in a multi-ethnic society where freedom of religion, speech and association are guaranteed to all. At least that is what good Americans are brought up to believe.

The "demographic threat" comes not only from Muslim Palestinians, but also from Christians. Last June *Haaretz* reported that Dr. Asher Cohen of Bar-Ilan University had discovered that

This anti-Christian war cry was recently taken up by Israel's Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliyahu Bakshi-Doron and his Ashkenazi counterpart Rabbi Israel Meir Lau, who warned that "seventy percent of the new immigrants to Israel are professed non-Jews, with no connection to Judaism." In a joint statement, the two clerics concluded, "We cannot continue to bring entire Christian families to Israel." (Chief rabbis call for revision to be made in Law of Return," *Haaretz*, August 25, 2002)

The view that non-Jews, including the indigenous Palestinians, are a mortal threat, a cancer, a bomb to be defused, echoes precisely the language of racists and ethno-nationalists everywhere. Only the claim of Israeli exceptionalism, and misuse of the memory of the Nazi holocaust, has protected Israel from the censure it deserves for allowing such views to flourish. The sheer breath-taking hypocrisy is encapsulated by the Israeli government with Moledet ethnic cleansing advocates amongst its ranks condemning European countries like France and Austria for allowing racist parties to grow too powerful.

A few years ago it would have been easy to dismiss the Gamla document as the work of marginal extremists. But in today's Israel, where pro-ethnic-cleansing ministers sit in the cabinet, and even those who would not support transfer are opposed to co-existence and equality, it is a worrying sign. Most of the brutal measures Israel carries out today with nary a word of concern from the outside world would have been unthinkable two years ago, including the mass starvation of millions of besieged Palestinians. It would not be surprising to see some of the measures proposed in the expulsion manifesto adopted piecemeal as Israel's swing to the far right continues unchecked.

The Gamla document is notable not because it raises ideas that no one else in Israel is talking about, but rather because it tries to take a generalized and growing clamor for transfer to the next level — detailed formulation of a specific program for the expulsion of the Palestinians around which political support and action can be organized. Extremists such as Gamla are closely tied with ‘mainstream’ politicians, and by running ahead of them can test the waters and introduce ideas that the mainstream is not yet ready to fully embrace.

It may not even be necessary for a majority of Israelis to support expulsion for it to be carried out since the settler movement — from which Gamla emerges — has managed to wield disproportionate influence on all Israeli governments, especially that of Sharon. For example, while polls show that the majority of Israelis are in favor of removing settlements in the occupied territories, the settlements continue to grow, absorbing a disproportionate chunk of Israel’s budget even while unemployment and poverty within Israel itself are spiraling. Former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is waiting in the wings for Sharon to fall, has mortgaged himself even more to these elements.

The expulsion plan’s author may not be entirely deluded either, when he banks on American support. Last May, Dick Armey, the most senior Republican in the United States Congress openly advocated the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians on MSNBC’s *Hardball*, while the usually bland *USA Today* newspaper published a February op-ed by one Emanuel Winston calling for the “resettling” of the Palestinians in Jordan. Neither of these calls elicited the slightest protest from mainstream commentators and politicians in the United States. As extreme as President Bush’s support for Israel has become, it appears moderate next to that of so-called Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who stated recently that Israel should be able to keep the “so-called occupied territories” because it won them fair and square in a war. When Hillary Clinton, New York’s “liberal” Senator, visited Israel earlier this year, she was hosted by and warmly embraced Benny Elon, the leader of the Moledet ethnic cleansing party.

The Sharon government’s egging on of the United States to bring forward its attack on Iraq cannot be motivated solely by fear of Iraqi “weapons of mass destruction,” since Israeli



intelligence assessments downplay the actual threat from the devastated Iraqi armed forces. It may not be far-fetched to speculate that some within Israel would see a regional war as the only opportunity to carry out a round of expulsions, and delay the day when the “demographic bomb” explodes.

Theodor Herzl, writing Zionism’s founding tract, “The Jewish State” recognized that his dream of taking over Palestine could not be fulfilled without transfer. Herzl famously declared “We shall try to spirit the penniless [Arab] population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it employment in our country.” Recent scholarship by Israelis and others, and fifty four years of the lived reality of Palestinians bear uncontestable witness to the fact that mass expulsion has always been part of Israel’s strategy and practice. Whether it will become so again is anybody’s guess, but the warning signs are there to be heeded.

Vice-president of the Arab-American Action Network and a well-known media analyst, Abunimah regularly writes public letters to the media, coordinates campaigns, and appears on a variety of national and international news programs as a commentator on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He is one of the founders of The Electronic Intifada. Ali Abunimah contributed to “The New Intifada: Resisting Israel’s Apartheid” (Verso Books, 2001).



Richard Mock

ANTI-SEMITISM & THE BEIRUT POGROM

By Fredy Perlman

In "Anti-Semitism & the Beirut Pogrom" Fredy Perlman critiques the Zionist propaganda and its effects and shows that the experience of the Holocaust does not necessarily lead to empathy or solidarity with the victims but that it can just as easily lead to the rationalization for the hatred, demonization and victimization of others. Fredy Perlman was a dramatist, organizer, scholar, theorist, gardener, musician & anti-authoritarian activist. He died in 1985. Originally written in 1982, this timely essay has recently been republished as a pamphlet by Black & Red (PO Box 02374, Detroit, MI 48202).

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Escape from death in a gas chamber or a Pogrom, or incarceration in a concentration camp, may give a thoughtful and capable writer, Solzhenitsyn for example, profound insights into many of the central elements of contemporary existence, but such an experience does not, in itself, make Solzhenitsyn a thinker, a writer, or even a critic of concentration camps; it does not, in itself, confer any special powers. In another person the experience might lie dormant as a potentiality, or remain forever meaningless, or it might contribute to making the person an ogre. In short, the experience is an indelible part of the individual's past but it does not determine his future; the individual is free to choose his future; he is even free to choose to abolish his freedom, in which case he chooses in bad faith and is a Salaud (J.P. Sartre's precise philosophical term for a person who makes such a choice [The usual English translation is "Bastard"]).

My observations are borrowed from Sartre; I'd like to apply them, not to Solzhenitsyn, but to myself, as a specific individual, and to the American cheerleaders rooting for the State of Israel, as a specific choice.

I was one of three small children removed by our elders from a Central European country a month before the Nazis invaded the country and began rounding up Jews. Only part of my extended family left; the rest remained and were all rounded up; of these, all my cousins, aunts, and grandparents died in Nazi concentration camps or gas chambers except two uncles, whom I'll mention later.

A month more and I, too, would have been one of those who actually underwent the rationally-planned scientific extermination of human beings, the central experience of so many people in an age of highly developed science and productive forces, but I wouldn't have been able to write about it.

I was one of those who escaped. I spent my childhood among Quechua-speaking people of the Andean highlands, but I didn't learn to speak Quechua and I didn't ask myself why; I spoke to a Quechua in a language foreign to both of us, the Conquistador's language. I wasn't aware of myself as a refugee nor of the Quechuas as refugees in their own land; I knew no more about the terrors — the expropriations, persecutions and pogroms, the annihilation of an ancient culture — experienced by their ancestors than I knew about the terrors experienced by mine.

To me the Quechuas were generous hospitable, guileless, and I thought more of an aunt who respected and liked them than of a relative who cheated them and was contemptuous of them and called them dirty and primitive.

My relative's cheating was my first contact with the double standard, the fleecing of outsiders to enrich insiders, the moral adage that said: It's all right if it's We who do it.

My relative's contempt was my first experience with racism, which gave this relative an affinity with the Pogromists she had fled from; her narrow escape from them did not make her a critic of Pogromists; the experience probably contributed nothing to her personality, not even her identification with the Conquistador, since this was shared by Europeans who did not share my relative's experience of narrowly escaping from a concentration camp. Oppressed European peasants had identified with Conquistadores who carried a more vicious oppression to non-Europeans already before my relative's experience.

My relative did make use of her experience years later, when she chose to be a rooter for the State of Israel, at which time she did not renounce her contempt toward the Quechuas; on the contrary, she then applied her contempt toward people in other parts of the world, people she had never met or been among. But I wasn't concerned with the character of her choice at the time; I was more concerned with the chocolates she brought me.

In my teens I was brought to America, which was a synonym for New York even to people already in America among the Quechuas; it was a synonym for much else, as I was very slowly to learn.

Shortly after my arrival in America, the state power of the Central European country of my origin was seized by a well-organized gang of egalitarians who thought they could bring about universal emancipation by occupying State offices and becoming policemen, and the new State of Israel fought its first successful war and turned an indigenous population of Semites into internal refugees like the Quechuas and exiled refugees like the Central European Jews. I should have wondered why the Semitic refugees and the European refugees who claimed to be Semitic, two peoples with so much in common, did not make common cause against common oppressors, but I was far too occupied trying to find my way in America.

From an elementary school friend who was considered a hooligan by my parents, and also from my parents themselves, I slowly learned that America was the place where anyone would want to be, something like Paradise, but a Paradise that remained out of reach even after one entered America. America was a land of clerks and factory workers, but neither clerical nor factory work were America. My hooligan friend summarized it all very simply:

there were suckers and hustlers, and you had to be dumb to become a sucker. My parents were less explicit; they said: Study hard. The implied motivation was: God forbid you should become a clerk or factory worker! Become something other: a professional or a manager. At that time I didn't know these other callings were also America's, that with every rung reached, Paradise remained as unreachable as before. I didn't know that the

professional's or even the clerk's or worker's satisfaction came, not from the fullness of his own life, but from the rejection of his own life, from identification with the great process taking place outside him, the process of unfettered industrial destruction. The results of this process could be watched in movies or newspapers, though not yet on Television, which would soon bring the process into everyone home; the satisfaction was that of the voyeur, the peeper. At that time I didn't know that this process was the most concrete synonym for America.

Once in America, I had no use for my experience of narrowly escaping a Nazi concentration camp; the experience couldn't help me climb the ladder toward Paradise and might even hinder me; my hurried climb might have been slowed considerably or even stopped altogether if I had tried to empathize with the condition of the labor camp inmate I might have become, for I would have realized what it was that made the prospect of factory work so fearsome: it differed from the other condition in that there were no gas chambers and in that the factory worker spent only his weekdays inside.

I wasn't alone in having no use for my Central European experience. My relatives had no use for it either. During that decade I met one of my two uncles who had actually lived through a Nazi concentration camp. Once in America, even this uncle had no use for his experience; he wanted nothing more than to forget the Pogrom and everything associated with it; he wanted only to climb the rungs of America; he wanted to look and sound and act no differently

from other Americans. My parents had exactly the same attitude. I was told that my other uncle had survived the camps and gone to Israel, only to be hit by a car soon after his arrival.

The State of Israel was not interesting to me during that decade, although I heard talk of it. My relatives spoke with a certain pride of the existence of a State with Jewish policemen, a Jewish army, Jewish judges and factory managers, in short a State totally unlike Nazi Germany and just like America. My relatives, whatever their personal situations, identified with the Jewish policemen and not with the policed, with the factory owners and not the Jewish workers, with the Jewish hustlers and not the suckers, an identification which was understandable among people who wanted to forget their close encounter with labor camps. But none of them wanted to go there; they were already in America.

My relatives gave grudgingly to the Zionist cause and were baffled — all except my racist relative — by the unqualified enthusiasm of second to nth generation Americans for a distant State with Jewish policemen and teachers and managers, since these people were already policemen and teachers and managers in America. My racist relative understood what the enthusiasm was based on: racial solidarity. But I wasn't aware of this at the time. I was not an overbright American high-schooler and I thought racial solidarity was something confined to Nazis, Afrikaaners and American Southerners.

I was starting to be familiar with the traits of the Nazis who'd almost captured me: the racism that reduced human beings to their genealogical connections over five or six generations, the crusading nationalism that considered the rest of humanity an obstacle, the Gleichshaltung that cut off the individuals freedom to choose, the technological efficiency that made small humans mere fodder for great machines, the bully militarism that pitted walls of tanks against a cavalry and exacted a hundred times the losses it sustained, the official paranoia that pictured the enemy, poorly armed townspeople and villagers, as a nearly omnipotent conspiracy of cosmic scope. But I didn't see that these traits had anything to do with America or Israel.

It was only during my next decade, as in American college student with a mild interest in history and philosophy, that I began to acquire a smattering of knowledge about Israel and Zionism, not because I was particularly interested in these subjects but because they were included in my readings. I was neither hostile nor friendly; I was indifferent; I still had no use for my experience as a refugee.

But I didn't remain indifferent to Israel or Zionism. This was the decade of Israel's spectacular capture and trial of the Good German Eichmann, and of Israel's spectacular invasion of large parts of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in a six-day Blitzkrieg, a decade when Israel was news for everyone, not just for refugees.

I didn't have any unconventional thoughts about the obedient Eichmann except the thought that he couldn't be so exceptional since I had already met people like him in America. But some of my

readings did make me start wondering about my Zionist relative's racism.

I learned that people like the ancient Hebrews, Akkadians, Arabs, Phoenicians and Ethiopians had all come from the land of Shem (the Arabian Peninsula) and had all spoken the language of Shem, which was what made them Shemites or Semites. I learned that the Jewish religion had originated among Semites in the ancient Levantine State Judah, the Christian religion among Semites in the ancient Levantine towns Nazareth and Jerusalem, the Mohammedan religion among Semites in the ancient Arabian towns Mecca and Medina, and that for the past 1300 years the region called Palestine had been a sacred place to the Islamic Semites who lived there and in surrounding regions.

I also learned that the religions of European and American Jews, like the religions of European and American Christians, had been elaborated, during almost two millennia, by Europeans and more recently by Americans.

If Europeans and American Jews were Semites in terms of their religion, then European and American Christians were also Semites, a notion that was generally considered absurd.

If Jews were Semites in terms of the language of their Sacred Book, then all European and American Christians were Greeks or Italians, a notion almost as patently absurd.

I started to suspect that my Zionist relative's only connection to the Zion in the Levant was a genealogical connection traced, not over six, but over more than sixty generations. But I had come to consider such racial reckoning a peculiarity of Nazis, Afrikaaners and American Southerners.

I was uneasy. I thought surely there was more to it than that; surely those who claimed to descend from the victims of all that racism were not carriers of a racism ten times more thorough.

I knew little of the Zionist Movement, but enough to start being repelled. I knew the Movement had originally had two wings, one of which, the Socialist one, I could understand because I was starting to empathize with victims of oppression, not from insights I gained from my own experience but from books equally accessible to others; the other wing of Zionism was incomprehensible to me.

The egalitarian or Left Zionists, as [then understood them, did not want to be assimilated into the European states that persecuted them, some because they didn't think they ever could be, others because they were repelled by industrializing Europe and America. The Messiah, their Movement, would deliver Israel from exile and guide her to Zion, to something altogether different, to a Paradise without suckers or hustlers. Some of them, even more metaphorically, hoped the Messiah would deliver the oppressed from their oppressors, if not everywhere, then at least in a millennial egalitarian Utopia located in a province of the Ottoman Empire, and they were ready to join with the Islamic residents of Zion against Ottoman, Levantine and British oppressors. They shared this dream with Christian millenarians who had been trying for more than a millennium to found Zion in one or another province of Europe; both had the same roots, but I suspected the left Zionists had inherited their millenarianism from the Christians.

The egalitarian Zionists were arrogant in thinking the Islamic residents of Zion would embrace European leftists as liberators, and they were as naive as the egalitarians who had seized state power in the country of my birth, thinking the millennium would begin as soon as they occupied State offices and became policemen. But as far as I could see, they weren't racists.

The other Zionists, the Right, who by the time I reached college had all but supplanted the Left, at least in America, were explicit racists and assimilationists; they wanted a State dominated by a Race ever so thinly disguised as a religion, a State that would not be something altogether different, but exactly the same as America and the other states in the Family of Nations. I couldn't understand this, for it seemed to me that these Zionists, who included statists, industrializers and technocrats, were not only racists but also Conversos.

Earlier Conversos were Jews in fifteenth century Spain who, to avoid persecution, discovered that the long-awaited Jewish Messiah had already arrived, a millennium and a half earlier, in the person of Jewish prophet Jesse, the Crucified. Some of these Conversos then joined the Inquisition and persecuted Jews who had not made this discovery.

The modern Conversos hadn't become Catholics; Catholicism was not the dominant creed in the twentieth century; Science and Technology were.

I thought Jesse had at least affirmed, if only as relics, some of the traits of the ancient human community, whereas Science and Technology affirmed nothing human; they destroyed culture as well as nature as well as human community.

It seemed sad that the long-preserved and carefully-guarded specificities of a cultural minority that had refused to be absorbed were to shatter on the discovery that the technocratic State was the Messiah and the Industrial Process the long-awaited millennium. This made the whole trajectory meaningless. The dream of these racist Conversos was repulsive to me.

It wasn't until the following decade, when I was over thirty, that my nearness to the Nazi Pogrom began to be meaningful to me. This transvaluation of my early experience happened suddenly, and was caused by something like a chance encounter, an encounter which, also by chance, included an odd reference to the State of Israel.

This was the decade when America waged its war of extermination against a people and an ancient culture of the Far East.

It happened that I was visiting my Americanized relatives at the same time that my Andean aunt was with them for the first time since their separation. This was the aunt who had respected the Quechua-speaking people, although not enough to learn their language, and had stayed among them when the others left.

The conversation among the relatives turned to pious reflections about the uncle who had gone to Israel and been killed by a car after having survived the Nazi concentration camps.

My Andean aunt couldn't believe what she heard. She asked her relatives if they had all gone crazy. The story about the car accident had been told to the children so often that the adults had come to believe it.

That man wasn't killed in an accident, she shouted. He committed suicide. He had survived the concentration camps because he had been a technician employed in applying chemical science to the operation of the gas chambers. He had then made the mistake of emigrating to Israel, where his collaboration had been made public knowledge. He probably couldn't face the accusing eyes; maybe he feared retaliation.

My first response to this revelation was revulsion against a human being who could be so morally degraded as to gas his own kin and fellow-captives. But the more I thought about him, the more I had to admit there had at least been a shred of moral integrity in his final self-destructive act; that act didn't make him a moral paradigm, but it contrasted sharply with the acts of people who lacked even that shred of moral integrity, people who were returning from the Far East and affirming their deeds, actually boasting of the unnatural atrocities they had inflicted on their fellow human beings.

And I asked myself who the others really were, the pure ones who had exposed and judged Eichmann the obedient German.

I didn't know anything about the people in Israel and had never met an Israeli, but I was increasingly aware of the loud American cheerleaders for the State of Israel, and not the Left Zionists among them but the others, my racist relative's friends. The Leftists had all but vanished in a dark sectarian Limbo no outsider could penetrate, a Limbo that stank almost as strongly as the one that held Messiah Lenin's and Stalin's heirs, with sects twisted out of shape by the existence of the State of Israel, ranging from those who claimed their seizure of power was all that was needed to turn the State of Israel into an egalitarian community, to those who claimed the existing State of Israel was already the egalitarian community.

But the Left Zionists shouted only at each other.

It was the others who made all the din, who shouted at everyone else. And these were explicit about what they admired in the State of Israel; they affirmed it, they boasted of it, and it had nothing to do with the ailing wing's egalitarianism. What they admired was:

—the crusading nationalism that considered the humanity surrounding it as nothing but obstacles to its flowering;

—the industrial potency of the Race that had succeeded in denaturing the desert and making it bloom;

—the efficiency of the human beings remade into operators of big tanks and incredibly accurate jets;

—the technological sophistication of the instruments of death themselves, infinitely superior to that of the Nazis;

—the spectacularly enterprising secret police whose prowess was surely not inferior, for such a small State, to that of the CIA, KGB or Gestapo;

— the bully militarism that pitted the latest inventions of life-killing Science against a motley collection of weapons, and exacted a hundred or a thousand times the losses it sustained.

This last boast, which expressed the morality of exacting hundreds of eyes for an eye and thousands of teeth for a tooth, seemed particularly repulsive in the mouth of a cheerleader for a theocratic State where an ethical elite claimed to provide inspired guidance on moral questions; but this will surprise only those uninformed about history's theocracies.

During this decade, the racism, the anti-Semitism, to be more precise, Of these admirers of the State of Israel became virulent. Zion's expropriated Semites were no longer considered human beings; they were Backward Arabs; only those among them who had been turned into good assimilated Israelis could be called human; the others were dirty Primitives. And Primitives, in the definition given a few centuries earlier by Conquistadores, not only had no right to resist humiliation, expropriation and desolation; Primitives had no right to exist; they only squandered nature's resources, they didn't know what to do with God's precious gifts! Only God's chosen knew how to use the Great Father's gifts, and they knew exactly what to do with them.

Yet even while dwelling on the backwardness of the expropriated, the cheerleaders became paranoid and pictured the pathetic resistance of the expropriated as a vast conspiracy of untold power and nearly cosmic scope.

Sartre's expression *mauvaise foi* [The usual English translation is "Bad faith."] is too weak to characterize the posture chosen by these people, but it's not my concern to coin another expression.

I survived into my forties, thanks partly to the fact that America still hadn't exterminated itself and the rest of humanity with the high-powered incinerants and poisons with which it was mining [Mining in the sense of setting explosive mines, making earth lethal], or rather undermining, its own as well as other people's lands.

This decade combined what I had earlier thought uncombinable; it combined a barrage of revelations about the Holocaust, in the form of movies, plays, books and articles, with the Pogrom, perpetrated on Levantine Semites in Beirut by the State of Israel. [Written in mid-August, this statement referred to Israel's invasion

and not yet to the Pogrom in the strict 19th century sense perpetrated in September. (Sept 16-18, 1982, to be exact)]

The revelations touched the Holocaust in Vietnam only marginally; maybe two generations have to pass before such filth is hung out to air. The revelations were almost all about the Holocaust I had narrowly escaped as a child.

People who don't understand human freedom might think the terrible revelations could have only one effect, they could only turn people against the perpetrators of such atrocities, they could only make people empathize with the victims, they could only contribute to a resolve to abolish the very possibility of a repeat of such dehumanizing persecution and cold-blooded murder. But, for better or worse, such experiences, whether personally lived or learned from revelations, are nothing but the field over which human freedom soars like a bird of prey. The revelations about the forty-year-old

Pogrom have even been turning up as justifications for a present-day Pogrom.

Pogrom is a Russian word that used to refer, in past years that now seem almost benign, to a riot of cudgel-armed men against poorly armed villagers with different cultural traits; the more heavily the State was involved in the riot, the more heinous was the Pogrom. The overwhelmingly stronger attackers projected their own character as bullies onto their weaker victims, convincing themselves that their victims were rich, powerful, well-armed and allied with the Devil. The attackers also projected their own violence onto their victims, constructing stories of the victims' brutality out of details taken from their own

repertory of deeds. In nineteenth century Russia, a Pogrom was considered particularly violent if fifty people were killed.

The statistics underwent a complete metamorphosis in the twentieth century, when the State became the main rioter. The statistics of modern German and Russian and Turkish state-run Pogroms are known; the statistics from Vietnam and Beirut are not public yet.

Beirut and its inhabitants had already been made desolate by the presence of the violent resistance movement of the expropriated refugees ousted from Zion; if the casualties of those clashes were added to the number killed by the State of Israel's direct involvement in the riot — but I'll stop this; I don't want to play numbers games.

The trick of declaring war against the armed resistance and then attacking the resisters' unarmed kin as well as the surrounding population with the most gruesome products of Death-Science — this trick is not new. American Pioneers were pioneers in this too; they made it standard practice to declare war on indigenous warriors and then to murder and burn villages with only women and children in them. This is already modern war, what we know as war against

civilian populations; it has also been called, more candidly, mass murder or genocide.

Maybe I shouldn't be surprised that the perpetrators of a Pogrom portray themselves as the victims, in the present case as victims of the Holocaust.

Herman Melville noticed over a century ago, in his analysis of the metaphysics of Indian-hating, that those who made a full-time profession of hunting and murdering indigenous people of this continent always made themselves appear, even in their own eyes, as the victims of manhunts.

The use the Nazis made of the International Jewish Conspiracy is better known: during all the years of atrocities defying belief, the Nazis considered themselves the victimized.

It's as if the experience of being a victim gave exemption from human solidarity, as if it gave special powers, as if it gave a license to kill.

Maybe I shouldn't be surprised, but I can't keep myself from being angry, because such a posture is the posture of a Salaud, the posture of one who denies human freedom, who denies that he chooses himself as killer. The experience, whether personally lived or learned from revelations, explains and determines nothing; it is nothing but a phony alibi.

Melville analyzed the moral integrity of the Indian-hater.

I'm talking about modern Pogromists, and more narrowly about cheerleaders for Pogroms. I'm talking about people who haven't personally killed fifty or five or even one human being.

I'm talking about America, where the quest is to immerse oneself in Paradise while avoiding any contact with its dirty work, where only a minority is still involved in the personal doing of the dirty work, where the vast majority are full-time voyeurs, peepers, professors, call them what you will.

Among the voyeurs, I'm concentrating on the voyeurs of Holocausts and Pogroms. I have to keep referring to what's on the screen because that's what's being watched. But my concern is with the watcher, with one who chooses himself a voyeur, specifically a voyeur of Holocausts, a cheerleader for death squads.

Mention the words Beirut and Pogrom in the same sentence to such a one, and he'll vomit all the morality inside him: he won't vomit much.

The likeliest response you'll get is a moronic chuckle and a cynical laugh.

I'm reminded of my uncle, the one who wasn't hit by a car, who at least had the shred of moral integrity to see what others saw and reject it, and I contrast my uncle with this person who either sees nothing at all, or who cynically affirms what he sees, cynically accepts himself.

If he's an intellectual, a professor, he'll respond with the exact equivalent of the moronic grin or the cynical laugh but with words; he'll bombard you with sophistries, half truths and outright lies which are perfectly transparent to him even as he utters them.

This is not an airy, wide-eyed idealist but a gross, down-to-earth property-oriented materialist with no illusions about what constitutes expropriation of what he calls Real Estate. Yet this real

estate man will start telling you that the Levantine Zion is a Jewish Land and he'll point to a two-thousand year old Title.

He calls Hitler a madman for having claimed the Sudetenland was a German land because he totally rejects the rules that would have made it a German land, international peace treaties are included in his rules, violent expropriations are not.

Yet suddenly he pulls out a set of rules which, if he really accepted them, would pulverize the entire edifice of Real Property. If he really accepted such rules, he would be selling plots in Gdansk to Kashubians returning from exile, tracts in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to Ojibwas reappropriating their homeland, estates in Iran, Iraq and much of Turkey to homeward bound Indian Parsees, and he would even have to lease parts of Zion itself to Chinese descendants of Nestorian Christians, and to many others besides.

Such arguments have more affinity with the moronic chuckle than with the cynical laugh.

The cynical laugh translated into words would say: We (they always say We) We conquered the Primitives, expropriated them and ousted them; the expropriated are still resisting, and in the meantime We have acquired two generations who have no other home but Zion; being Realists, we know we can end the resistance once and for all by exterminating the expropriated.

Such cynicism without a shred of moral integrity might be realistic, but it might also turn out to be what C.W. Mills called Crackpot Realism, because the resistance might survive and spread and it might go on as long as the Irish.

There's yet another response, the response of the cudgel-armed Defense League bully who thinks the absence of a brown shirt makes him unrecognizable.

He clenches his fist or tightens his grip on his club and shouts: Traitor!

This response is the most ominous, for it claims that We are a club to which all are welcome, but the membership of some is mandatory.

In this usage, Traitor does not mean anti-Semite, since it is aimed at people who empathize with the plight of the current Semites. Traitor does not mean Pogromist, since it is aimed at people who still empathize with the victims of the Pogrom. This term is one of the few components of the vocabulary of a racist through the ages; it means: Traitor to the Race.

And here I reach the single element which the new anti-Semite had not yet shared with the old anti-Semite: *Gleichschaltung*, the totalitarian "synchronization" of all political activity and expression. The entire Race must march in step, to the same drumbeat; all are to obey.

The uniqueness of the condemned Eichmann becomes reduced to a difference in holiday ritual.

It seems to me that such goons are not preservers of the traditions of a persecuted culture. They're Conversos, but not to the Catholicism of Fernando y Isabela; they're Conversos to the political practice of the Fuehrer.

The long exile is over; the persecuted refugee at long last returns to Zion, but so badly scarred he's unrecognizable, he has completely

lost his self; he returns as anti-Semite, as Pogromist, as mass murderer; the ages of exile and suffering are still included in his makeup, but only as self-justifications, and as a repertory of horrors to impose on Primitives and even on Earth herself.

I think I've now shown that the experience of the Holocaust, whether lived or peeped, does not in itself make an individual a critic of Pogroms, and also that it does not confer special powers or give anyone a license to kill or make someone a mass murderer.

But I haven't even touched the large question that is raised by all this: Can I begin to explain why someone chooses himself a mass murderer?

I think I can begin to answer. At the risk of plagiarizing Sartre's portrait of the old anti-Semite, I can at least try to point to one or two of the elements in the field of choice of the new anti-Semite.

I could start by noticing that the new anti-Semite is not really so different from any other TV-watcher, and that TV-watching is somewhere near the core of the choice (I include newspapers and movies under the abbreviation for 'tell-a-vision').

What the watcher sees on the screen are some of the "interesting" deeds, sifted and censored, of the monstrous ensemble in which he plays a trivial but daily role. The central but not often televised activity of this vast ensemble is industrial and clerical labor, forced labor, or just simply labor, the *Arbeit* which macht frei. ["Work Liberates": a slogan posted at the entrance to Nazi slave labor camps.]

Solzhenitsyn, in his multi-volumed Gulag Archipelago, gave a profound analysis of what such *Arbeit* does to a human individual's outer and inner life; a comparably profound analysis has yet to be made of the administration that 'synchronizes' the activity, the training institutions that produce the Eichmanns and Chemists who apply rational means to the perpetration of the irrational ends of their superiors.

I can't summarize Solzhenitsyn's findings; his books have to be read. In a brief space I can only say that the part of life spent in *Arbeit*, the triviality of existence in a commodity market as seller or customer, worker or client, leaves an individual without kinship or community or meaning; it dehumanizes him, evacuates him; it leaves nothing inside but the trivia that make up his outside. He no longer has the centrality, the significance, the self-powers given to all their members by ancient communities that no longer exist. He doesn't even have the phony centrality given by religions which preserved a memory of the ancient qualities while reconciling people to worlds where those qualities were absent. Even the religions have been evacuated, pared down to empty rituals whose meaning has long been lost.

In a brief space I can only say that the part of life spent in *Arbeit*, the triviality of existence in a commodity market as seller or customer, worker or client, leaves an individual without kinship or community or meaning; it dehumanizes him, evacuates him; it leaves nothing inside but the trivia that make up his outside.

The gap is always there; it's like hunger: it hurts. Yet nothing seems to fill it.

Ah, but there's something that does fill it or at least seems to; it may be sawdust and not grated cheese, but it gives the stomach the illusion that it's been fed; it may be a total abdication of self-powers, a self-annihilation, but it creates the illusion of self-fulfillment, of reappropriation of the lost self-powers.

This something is the Told Vision which can be watched on off hours, and preferably all the time.

By choosing himself a Voyeur, the individual can watch everything he no longer is.

All the self-powers he no longer has, It has, And It has even more powers; It has powers no individual ever had; It has the power to turn deserts into forests and forests into deserts; It has the power to annihilate peoples and cultures who have survived since the

beginning of time and to leave no trace that they ever existed; It even has the power to resuscitate the vanished peoples and cultures and endow them with eternal life in the conditioned air of museums.

In case the reader hasn't already guessed, It is the technological ensemble, the industrial process, the Messiah called Progress. It is America.

The individual deprived of meaning chooses to take the final leap into meaninglessness by identifying with the very process that deprives him. He becomes We the exploited identifying with the exploiter. Henceforth his powers are Our powers, the powers of the ensemble, the powers of the alliance of workers with their own bosses known as the Developed Nation. The powerless

individual becomes an essential switch in the all-powerful, all-knowing, all-seeing God, the central computer; he becomes one with the machine.

His immersion becomes an orgy during the crusades against those who are still outside the machine: untouched trees, wolves, Primitives.

During such crusades he becomes one of the last Pioneers; he joins hands across the centuries with the Conquistadores of the southern part and the Pioneers of the northern part of this double continent; he joins hands with Indian-haters and Discoverers and Crusaders; he feels America running in his veins at last, the America that was already brewing in the cauldrons of European Alchemists long before Colon (the Converso) reached the Caribs, Raleigh the Algonquians or Cartier the Iroquoians; he gives the coup de grace to his remaining humanity by identifying with the process exterminating culture, nature and humanity.

If I went on I would probably come to results already found by W. Reich in his study of the mass psychology of Fascism. It galls me that a new Fascism should choose to use the experience of the victims of the earlier Fascism among its justifications.

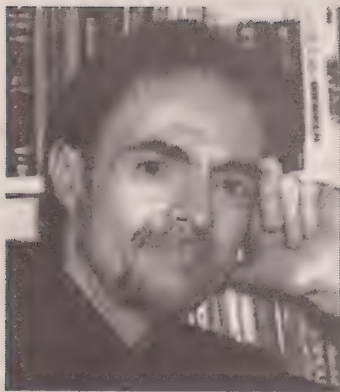
INTERNATIONAL



TERRORIST

GEORGE W. BUSH & THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

By Richard Heinberg



In "George W. Bush & the American Empire" Richard Heinberg examines the real reasons and motivations behind the impending war with Iraq. Richard Heinberg is a journalist, educator, editor, lecturer, and musician. He has lectured widely, appearing on national radio and television in five countries. This essay first appeared in *MuseLetter* (128, October 2002). An updated version appeared in *New Dawn* (Jan/Feb 2003). Web sites: www.museletter.com www.newdawnmagazine.com

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These days, Julius Caesar and ancient Rome seem to be on the minds of political commentators around the globe. A *London Guardian* opinion piece from September 20 was titled "Hail Bush: A New Roman Empire," while Jay Bookman (www.bushwatch.com) explains "The Bush Plan for Empire," and Michael Lind (www.theglobalist.com) asks rhetorically, "Is America the New Roman Empire?"

It was Caesar who transformed the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire. A brilliant general, he waged campaigns throughout modern-day France, Germany, Britain, and Turkey. In 46 BCE, he had himself appointed Imperator for life. Two years later, he was assassinated by a group of conspirators who believed they were striking a blow for the return of the Republic. Thirteen years of civil strife followed. The Republic was finished, but the Roman Empire persisted for another four centuries. Caesar had transformed his world; he was, for a brief time, the most powerful human being in the Western world.

Today the American Republic appears to many pundits to be at a juncture somewhat comparable to the one that Rome confronted in 50 BCE. The analogy is exceedingly imprecise, however: the US is vastly more fearsome than Rome in every respect, possessing weapons no ancient emperor could have dreamed of. Moreover, the American leader, George W. Bush, is far from being a brave and tactically brilliant general, as Caesar was: Bush spent the Vietnam War drinking, snorting coke, and going AWOL from the Texas National Guard. Caesar was also an eloquent orator; the current American leader's abilities in this regard hardly require description.

Nevertheless, Bush has seized nearly complete control of his nation and seems determined both to extend its global influence militarily, and to undermine its democratic institutions, just as surely as his ancient counterpart did. Today, the American administration is preparing to launch a war in the Middle East to advance its imperial ambitions, and is suppressing dissent at home in every way possible.

But while Caesar was frank in his war aims — he promised the citizenry colonies, tribute, and slaves — the Bush crowd cloaks its goals in a fog of shifting pretexts.

We are perhaps witnessing a new phase of Pax Americana. But this new order of the world is — for reasons discussed below — destined to persist for far less than four hundred years. And, as was the case with Caesar, victory may come at a high price; though in this instance, it is a price we all will pay.

Rationales for War

War is no small matter for a nation; in the present instance, it is estimated that a new Iraq war might cost the United States \$200 billion or more. Leaders must have good reasons for such an investment. So far, the US Administration has offered five reasons why Iraq must be attacked. They are as follows:

1. Iraq is in violation of UN Security Council resolutions. This is true; Iraq is currently, for example, violating Resolution 687 (03/04/91), establishing UNSCOM; and Resolution 1060 (12/06/96), which was a condemnation of Iraqi refusal to grant inspection access. But these facts do not constitute a believable pretext for war, because Iraq is far from being unique in its violation of UN resolutions. Turkey and Morocco are currently in violation as well. And still another nation in the region, Israel, has refused to comply with literally dozens of UN resolutions, some dating back nearly 50 years. Why single out Iraq?

2. Iraq has refused UN-mandated arms inspections. This, of course, is the essence of the particular UN resolutions that Iraq has violated. Arms inspections were mandated by the terms ending the Gulf War of 1991, and inspectors have been absent from Iraq for the past four years. But again, this makes no sense as a pretext for a renewed war. Iraq did comply with inspections up to a point, and evidence suggests that those inspections were working: according to some estimates, 90% to 95% of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons were eliminated, and its nuclear program was almost completely dismantled.

When the UN withdrew inspectors in 1998, independent investigations confirmed Iraqi claims that members of the inspection team were "spies" reporting directly to the CIA and the Israeli Mossad. One inspector even left behind a homing device to provide guidance for US bombers, which attacked Iraq in December 1998 during Operation Desert Fox (which, because it played out during the scandal surrounding President Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, was often described as a "wag-the-dog" ruse).

In mid-September, 2002, Iraq agreed unconditionally to the return of weapons inspectors; however, the US responded discouragingly. American Secretary of State Powell said that, if UN inspectors attempt to return to Iraq, the US would "move into thwart mode."

Before inspectors would be allowed back in, the Bush administration demanded the passage of a new UN resolution that called for the US to have representatives on any inspection team, for the inspection teams to set up militarily protected bases and travel corridors in any part of the country they choose, for Iraq to permit unrestricted landing of all aircraft, including unmanned spy planes, and for the US to be able to remove any Iraqi citizen from the country for questioning - all of this effectively dissolving Iraqi sovereignty and amounting to a de facto military occupation; if Iraq were to

balk at implementing even the smallest detail of the resolution, member states would automatically be entitled to use "all necessary means" to enforce it. The resolution appeared designed not to make inspections more effective, but to ensure that war would ensue.

On November 8, following weeks of intensive behind-the-scenes political maneuvering, the US Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441. The Iraqi leader, caught in a damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't conundrum, accepted the terms of the resolution.

3. Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator who killed his own people. True enough. But again, as a pretext for war this doesn't make sense. Saddam was just as evil in the 1980s, when he was using poison gas on the Kurds in his northern territories. But then the US approved of him, offering logistical support as well as aid in establishing chemical and biological weapons programs. The US has supported many evil dictators over the years; why attack this particular one now? Is there a sudden crisis of evilness that must be addressed militarily and immediately, even to the point of killing perhaps thousands or tens of thousands of innocent civilians in the process?

4. Saddam Hussein possesses weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) that pose a threat to his neighbours and to the American people. But, as documented by the UN and the CIA, Iraq has far less capability in that regard now than in 1990. As noted above, many of Iraq's WMDs were covertly supplied by the US. The US itself has vast stores of nuclear weapons, and is the only nation to have used such weapons against a civilian population. Of the countries in the Middle East, Israel has by far the largest inventory of WMDs; yet the US has not proposed that Israel be attacked for that reason.

Oddly enough, Iraq's neighbours do not appear concerned about the threat posed to them; indeed, most of them are pleading with the US not to attack. And no credible analyst has suggested that, even if Iraq does possess remnant WMDs, its leaders have either the ability or the intent to use them against US citizens, absent a large-scale attack.

5. Saddam Hussein provides aid to the terrorists who perpetrated the 9/11 attacks on the US. According to polls, nearly 70% of the American people believe that this is the case, and administration officials have made claims to this effect on several occasions. However, no one has supplied credible evidence for the assertion. Moreover, any such link would be counterintuitive. Osama Bin Laden and other radical Islamists detest secular Arab states, of which Iraq is one of the foremost. And secular Arab leaders, in turn, fear and despise the radical Islamists. It was Libya's Muammar Qadhafi — not George Bush or Bill Clinton — who was the first world leader to call for the arrest of Bin Laden, in 1994, following terrorist attacks on his nation. Why would Saddam aid his own sworn enemies? Two other nations in the region have been shown to have far more credible links with al Qaeda — Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Why is Bush not demanding attacks on these countries?

If none of these stated rationales is the true reason for Bush's insistence on war, then we must look elsewhere.

Quest for Empire

Several recent articles, noting the flimsiness of the official war rationale, have discussed possible underlying psychological drives. One writer (Mike Hersh, of *Online Journal*) tells us that White House

insiders privately assert that Bush is "out of control." In prepared speeches, Bush dutifully reads the litany of Saddam's violations and crimes. But in a recent off-the-cuff comment (9/26/02), Bush is reported to have said simply, "This is a guy that tried to kill my dad," referring to a purported failed 1993 assassination plot against ex-president Bush. (The only pieces of evidence ever brought forward for the existence of such a plot were confessions extracted by Kuwaiti torturers; nevertheless, Clinton retaliated with missiles, which hit a residential area and killed eight Iraqi civilians.) Is mere personal revenge the underlying motive for Bush's war?

Revenge may indeed be a contributory factor — at least in the tiny mind of George W. Bush himself. But it is important to remember that many government officials who do not share a personal grudge against Saddam are promoting this war.

This is a project that has emerged from a consensus of strategists whose purposes are undoubtedly more sophisticated than the pursuit of a family feud. Since official statements give us almost no insight into the real reasons why the American leadership is determined to pursue an expensive and risky war halfway around the world, one must indulge in a little informed speculation. In what ways might Bush or the people close to him have something to gain from such a war?

When we pursue this line of thought, three clear possible motives quickly come to mind:

1. Party politics and power. The American economy is in terrible shape now, with the stock market at levels not seen since 1997, corporate bankruptcies accumulating weekly, and revelations ongoing about corporate accounting fraud at the highest levels. A projected trillion-dollar government budget surplus has become a trillion-dollar deficit in a mere eighteen months. As the bubbles of the exuberant 1990s burst one by one, many economic analysts believe that the entire world may be teetering on the brink of a depression at least as serious as that of the 1930s. This should be horrific political news for the party in power.

However, with Americans' attention riveted by the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Bush and the Republicans have had to endure scant scrutiny. The White House occupant's handlers cannot help but have noticed that terrorism and war do wonders for the leader's poll numbers, while economic headlines do the opposite. An obvious strategy: find ways to dominate the news with fear-inducing, patriotic war talk. Prior to the November, 2002 US election, David Morris, writing on *Alternet*, opined that Bush's sabre rattling is all about politics, and suggested that, after the elections, weapons inspectors would return to Iraq and threats of attack would subside.

There is no question but that war can make for good politics. But the November elections have come and gone: Bush's party gained control of the Senate, and thus of the entire apparatus of the US government. But the beat of the war drums did not cease. There are thus clearly other motives at work.

2. Global dominance. The foreign-policy advisors surrounding Bush all share views typified in a report, "Rebuilding America's Defenses," issued in 2000 by the Project for the New American Century. The report calls for American military dominance of Earth and space, pre-emptive strikes on any potential rival, unquestioning support for Israel, and the ignoring of international opinion in the pursuit of US strategic objectives.

Most of the report's authors (including Paul Wolfowitz, deputy defense secretary) are now highly placed administration officials,

and the document itself is closely echoed by the official National Security Strategy, released by the administration on September 20, 2002. Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, and the rest appear to view Iraq as a symbolic challenge to US hegemony, Saddam Hussein having survived one US-led attack and over ten years of punishing economic sanctions. The toppling of his regime thus represents a test of the aggressive new American strategic doctrine.

In this view, an attack on Iraq serves an emblematic purpose, sending a message to the rest of the world saying: Defy us at your peril. Yet still something is missing. Why threaten the already teetering US economy to project US military might if there is nothing concrete to be gained thereby?

3. Oil. Here, perhaps, we get to the real nub of the issue. The US needs oil; its wealth was built on energy resources and on its ability to deploy technologies to use those resources (cars, planes, and industrial machinery). American oil production peaked in 1970 and now the nation imports well over half of what it uses.

In order to maintain its global dominance, the US needs to be able to control global oil prices. However, since the 1970s, the OPEC countries of the Middle East, by virtue of their immense petroleum reserves, have had that power. It is Saudi Arabia, as swing producer, that has opened or closed the spigot to enable economic booms (the mid 1980s and the mid- and late 1990s) or provoke recessions (1973, 2000). Now Saudi Arabia teeters, beset by a growing and youthful population, dwindling per-capita incomes, and simmering Islamist radicalism.

Iraq has reserves second only to those of Saudi Arabia. Because of the war with Iran in the 1980s and sanctions in the 1990s, those reserves are not as fully exploited as those of other nations in the region. This makes Iraq a prize for the taking — a fact not overlooked by Russia and France, which also covet its future oil production. If the US could install a compliant puppet regime in Baghdad, it could break the back of OPEC, establish its position first in line ahead of Russia and France, and weather any potential upset in Saudi Arabia.

Upon entering office, Dick Cheney, chair of the White House Energy Policy Development Group, commissioned a report on "energy security" from the Baker Institute for Public Policy, a think-tank set up by former US Secretary of State James Baker. The report, "Strategic Energy Policy Challenges For The 21st Century," issued in April 2001, concludes: "The United States remains a prisoner of its energy dilemma. Iraq remains a de-stabilizing influence to... the flow of oil to international markets from the Middle East. Saddam Hussein has also demonstrated a willingness to threaten to use the oil weapon and to use his own export program to manipulate oil markets. Therefore the US should conduct an immediate policy review toward Iraq including military, energy, economic and political/ diplomatic assessments."

Cheney, the former CEO of the Texas oil firm Halliburton, was advised principally by Kenneth Lay, the disgraced former chief executive of Enron — the US energy-trading giant that went bankrupt following the revelation of massive accounting fraud. Other advisers included Luis Giusti, a Shell non-executive director; John Manzonei, regional president of BP; and David O'Reilly, chief executive of ChevronTexaco.

The Baker report refers to the impact of fuel shortages on voters and recommends a "new and viable US energy policy central to

America's domestic economy and to [the] nation's security and foreign policy."

It also says that Iraq "turns its taps on and off when it has felt such action was in its strategic interest to do so," adding that there is a "possibility that Saddam Hussein may remove Iraqi oil from the market for an extended period of time" in order to raise prices.

"Unless the United States assumes a leadership role in the formation of new rules of the game," the report warns, "US firms, US consumers and the US government [will be left] in a weaker position."

No doubt all three of these latter factors have converged to galvanise the current Bush policy toward Iraq. In light of these powerful motives, publicly stated concerns about Iraq's violation of UN resolutions and its possession of WMDs pale in significance.

The administration has compelling reasons for its attack on Iraq; otherwise it would not invest so much financial and political capital in the effort. It is a shame, however, that those reasons cannot be shared publicly; if they were, an interesting debate might ensue. As it is, politicians and press commentators alike are in the awkward position of having to state plausible-sounding opinions about inherently implausible rationales issuing from the administration. The ensuing charade is painful to witness.

The War's Likely Progress and Consequences

Absurd as its rationales may be, the war itself is a deadly serious prospect. What will come to pass when the US and Britain begin the inevitable bombing and invasion of Iraq?

If the war goes according to plan, it will be over in just a few weeks. An overwhelming air attack will be followed by an invasion of ground troops mopping up Republican Guard resistance in the cities. The Iraqi people themselves will welcome American troops with open arms, delighted to be rid of their tyrant.

Other nations in the region will be cowed into obedience by this show of strength; or, if their regimes display weakness or intransigence, they can be overthrown as needed.

Early in the hostilities, and perhaps prior to their commencement, president Hugo Chavez of Venezuela must be ousted (and killed) so as to terminate his nationalist and leftist influence on OPEC policies and ensure the free flow of oil from his country to the US during the course of the conflict in the Middle East.

Also early in the hostilities, Israel must be expected to take advantage of the exclusive focus of world attention on Iraq by militarily pushing virtually the entire Palestinian population out of the West Bank and Gaza, perhaps into Jordan, thus solving the "Palestinian problem" once and for all.

According to analysts at Stratfor (the online strategic forecasting service), Dick Cheney and his advisors are working on a long-term plan for post-war Iraq. The currently favoured approach is to unite Iraq and Jordan in a pro-US Hashemite kingdom. The southern Shiite

and northern Kurdish areas, where most of Iraq's oil is located, present a dilemma: the former must be prevented from uniting with Iran, the latter from uniting with Kurdish areas in Turkey and agitating for a Kurdish state. Both must be granted some sort of limited autonomy but kept under close US control.

With Iraq's oil resources now accessible to American oil companies, and with Chavez gone from Venezuela, the power of OPEC will have been crushed. Oil prices will fall and the American economy will be saved from ruin (for the time being). American oil companies will grow rich. With large numbers of troops now permanently stationed in the Middle East, the US will have become an overt military empire.

That is the outcome if everything goes as expected. Unfortunately, however, a new Iraq war would hardly be the first unprovoked US military adventure, and experience has shown that such adventures often don't go according to plan (does the word Vietnam ring any bells?). What could go wrong in this instance? One hardly knows where to start.

What if the Iraqi people decide to resist invasion rather than welcoming their American liberators? The campaign could become a house-to-house urban war of attrition with mounting casualties on both sides. At the same time, Saddam Hussein, realising that he is done for, might well decide to unleash every weapon in his arsenal, with the hope of provoking the widest possible conflagration in the region. The US would then need more than the 250,000 ground troops it is now planning to deploy, and the draft might have to be reinstated. That would in turn provoke more anti-war protests at home, and thus necessitate more government repression.

If other states in the region are overthrown by Islamist opposition movements as a result of popular uprisings triggered by the war, efforts by the US to occupy those nations might seriously overextend American forces; then, rather than face defeat on any front, commanders might resort to the use of tactical nuclear weapons. Israel, perhaps finding itself under attack from Arab neighbour states, might itself decide to unleash some of its 200 or so nukes.

At the same time, popular outrage throughout the Arab and Muslim world at US actions might result in a dramatic increase in anti-American "terrorism" worldwide. Pakistan, which (unlike Iraq) does have functional nuclear weapons, could easily fall to the Islamists; if that were to happen, a nuclear device would probably come to the hands of al Qaeda in short order. Not only would the US economy be shattered by high oil prices and the costs of war, but American cities, and citizens abroad, would be imperiled.

In sum, an outcome in which a years-long World War is triggered, with multiple nuclear weapons being detonated and hundreds of thousands or millions being killed, may be about as likely as that in which everything goes as the war planners hope.

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All of this to maintain and extend the power of small group of criminal ideologues in Washington, and to keep American motorists fueled up and mobile for another decade or so.

Who Wants This War?

The potential consequences of the imminent American attack on Iraq are fairly evident to people in most nations around the world — except the people of the US. Here, politicians and pundits alike drone on about the menace of Saddam, while virtually no one dares mention the far greater menace to global peace posed by the geopolitical strategists in the White House.

The American people are deeply unaware of their predicament; with the soporific encouragement of television they are - as more than one commentator has put it, and on more than one occasion - "sleepwalking through history."

One might get the impression that this is a nation of imbeciles (and this does seem to be the view from the rest of the world); but Americans aren't inherently any more stupid than anyone else. They are being deliberately and systematically dumbed down. Their attention is distracted and manipulated from morning till night by slick PR professionals in both corporate and government offices. This trend was never more apparent than during the recent elections.

One tool in the arsenal of these professional opinion shapers is the poll. These days we are told that most Americans favour an attack on Iraq, and most think that Mr. Bush is doing a splendid job in leading this brave nation. The polls tend to be deeply disheartening to those who make any attempt whatever to see current events in historical and international context. But one has to view the polls in perspective. What are people actually being asked? Perhaps if questions were rephrased, answers would be more meaningful.

What if a random sample were asked, "Do you get your news from alternative sources and think critically about world issues?" The portion of the sample that replied affirmatively might almost exactly correspond with the 40% of the population that is reputed to disapprove of the "president's" job performance. Other possible questions: "Do you watch lots of television and pay minimal attention to civic and world affairs? Are you so absorbed with work and family that you just don't have time to think about much else?" Those who gave an affirmative reply to those questions would, one might well guess, correspond almost identically with the 60% who are said to approve of Bush and his war plans. The latter group is, in effect, saying to pollsters, "Yeah, sure, whatever." ("Do you approve of the way the 'president' is doing his job?" "Yeah, sure, whatever." "Do you want a World War to erupt in the Middle East?" "Whatever.")

Meanwhile the overwhelming majority of letters, phone calls, faxes, and e-mails that poured into the offices of the "president" and

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members of Congress in October, as a congressional bill authorising war was being debated, expressed opposition to an attack. Even senior CIA and Pentagon officials expressed skepticism. Global opinion remains almost unanimously anti-war. It appears that almost nobody wants this war except the tiny circle of far-right strategists surrounding Bush.

Yet no one appears able to stand up to these people forcibly enough to stop them. The Democrats in Congress, perhaps worrying that they might receive more anthrax-laced letters or perish in an airplane "accident," offered not even token opposition during the November elections. The Bushies have had their way on every count, and they will have their war. And heaven help us all.

Sic Transit Imperium Americanum

George W. Bush aspires to be a Caesar, make no mistake about it. And the scale of power and authority he has attained is indeed impressive. But despite his bellicosity and imperial pretensions, the

comparison with Julius utterly fails. Bush Jr. perhaps bears more resemblance to some of the feeble and dissolute hereditary emperors of the third century, men whose names are familiar now only to specialist historians.

In reality, the American empire passed its zenith in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as US oil production peaked and the nation squandered its financial wealth on a pointless war in Southeast Asia. Since then, as its petroleum resources and gold reserves have dwindled, the US has been steadily losing ground both politically and economically.

Post-peak America is awash in debt, dependent on imports, and mired in corruption. Nations around the world fear its military and watch its television shows, but ridicule its leaders and policies.

The far-right ideologues who have hijacked the political and strategic leadership of the country fancy themselves as establishing an American empire, whereas they must know in their heart-of-hearts that they are merely presiding over that empire's inevitable twilight. Their chest-thumping patriotic triumphalism would be pathetic if it were not so profoundly perilous.

The gambit of an Iraq war is a desperate measure, a floundering attempt to maintain power and authority that are fast slipping away. But, like the flailings of a person caught in quicksand, these efforts can only hasten the undertow. The US can still destroy, but cannot control the rest of the world. Bush, after all, is just a Caesar wannabe with nukes.

The fall of Rome occurred over several centuries. The fall of imperial America will be much more dramatic and much quicker, lasting only decades at most. What a shame that such a momentous time in the history of the world should be presided over by people who are not only greedy and ruthless (one can almost take that for granted), but talentless and unimaginative as well.



GROUND ZERO: HIROSHIMA HAUNTS 9/11

By Gene Ray

In "Ground Zero: Hiroshima Haunts 9-11" Gene Ray examines the deliberate resuscitation of the term "ground zero" and the lack of critical reflection on the origins and history of the real Ground Zero. A German-language version of this essay was published in the May 3, 2002 issue of the Berlin leftist weekly Freitag (www.freitag.de). Gene Ray is an artist, activist and independent scholar working on a range of issues at the intersection of art and politics.

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Ground zero: in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the spontaneous invocation and rapid popular acceptance of this freighted term mark a specific and potent return of repressed American history. While no critic or analyst has dared to confront this return, the genealogy of the term makes clear that the civilian victims and spectacular destruction of 9/11 triggered an unconscious discursive reenactment of the problem of American guilt for the 300,000 mostly non-combatant victims of the first-use of nuclear weapons against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

Within days of the September attacks, the topos "ground zero" was being used in every kind of discourse, popular and official, to refer to the site of the destroyed World Trade Center complex in Manhattan. Whoever first used the term in this new context, its appropriation and dissemination by mainstream corporate media was astonishingly rapid. By September 16, even the purportedly circumspect New York Times had adopted it.¹ Alternative media sources were not noticeably more reflective in their use of the term. After 9/11, Amy Goodman, the courageous producer of the leftist national radio program *Democracy Now*, began her daily Manhattan-based news shows with the pronouncement: "From ground zero radio, this is *Democracy*

For more than fifty years, American denial of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been protected by a carefully administered myth according to which the obliteration of those cities and the people who lived in them was “necessary” to save lives by ending the war and thus avoiding an invasion of the Japanese main islands. While that myth has been refuted by a large body of recent historical scholarship, it remains “the official story.”

Now.” After the bombing of Afghanistan began in October, she included in every broadcast the statement: “New York was the first ground zero, Afghanistan is the second.”

The origins of this term, however, unmistakably point elsewhere: to the so-called Manhattan Project and the nuclear bombing of Japan. The Oxford English Dictionary, citing the use of the term in a 1946 New York Times report on the destroyed city of Hiroshima, defines “ground zero” as “that part of the ground situated immediately under an exploding bomb, especially an atomic one.”² On first look, the main function of the post-9/11 redeployment of the term was to sanctify the main site of the attacks as hallowed ground worthy of national memorialization. We might think, then, that the relocation of ground zero from Japan to Manhattan sought to express the depth of America pain and grief: the performative effect of the displacement is to claim for the national collectivity a kind of ultimate victimhood.

Certainly a collective wound is being marked here, but which wound, exactly? The wound of losing 2,830 innocent citizens (and non-citizens)³ in a spectacular, Hollywood-style attack, or that of seeing the symbols of American postwar and post-cold war power punctured so effectively? Or is it in fact a more complex narcissistic wound that tracks back from the shock of realizing that “America” is not loved by all to the haunting suspicion that perhaps the use of American power in the world has not matched the moral exceptionalism proclaimed by its rhetoric? Indeed, what is ultimately at stake in this symptomatic use of language is the very moral legitimacy of American hegemony, of the globalization of the economic “war of all against all” under an American-dominated neo-liberal world order. Both a desire for vengeance and the fear of what “infinite justice” might mean can be detected behind the use of this term.

This is the conclusion that emerges from a cursory genealogical analysis of the American public discourse produced in response to 9/11. For “ground zero” appeared within a cluster of related terms, such as “Pearl Harbor” and “axis”, and as part of a moral register, that of a “crusade” against “evil-doers,” which together reconstitute the discourse of the Second World War. The deliberate resuscitation of this discourse by the George W. Bush administration has been widely recognized in America.

But while commentators across the political spectrum have noted that the World War II script is the main source for the script of the new “war on terror,” few of them have been willing to critically question the earlier script itself. In fact, most Americans are unwilling to let go of the fantasy of national virtue that animates it. While the Bush administration may be personally and by inclination more involved with the old just war script than was Bill Clinton, its popularity is general, rather than partisan.

We hardly need to be reminded how the Second World War has functioned in official and popular American memory as the “last good war,” fought and won by the “best generation.” As this generation dies out, a desire to honor its surviving members has found cultural expression in a string of mythifying Hollywood blockbusters from *Saving Private Ryan* to, indeed, *Pearl Harbor*. In this light, the revival of a World War II rhetoric can be read as a collective reach back for the morally unambiguous position of America in that conflict. The folding of this rhetoric into the response to 9/11 has been politically effective, if naive.

For the way in which the Second World War was concluded in the Pacific poses insuperable problems for the official American account. In a catastrophic ethical and political failure, American leaders committed a crime against humanity for which they have never been held to account and which America has so far avoided confronting. For more than fifty years, American denial of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have been protected by a carefully administered myth according to which the obliteration of those cities and the people who lived in them was “necessary” to save lives by ending the war and thus avoiding an invasion of the Japanese main islands. While that myth has been refuted by a large body of recent historical scholarship, it remains “the official story.”⁴

A short reminder of the contexts in which the first nuclear weapons were produced and used and in which the official story was constituted through the selection of certain facts and the repression of others will clarify how America managed to forget and deny Hiroshima at least until the *Enola Gay* controversy of 1995. After Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, physicists Leo Szilard and Albert Einstein warned Franklin Roosevelt that Nazi scientists were working on a terrible new weapon based on the energy potentially releasable by splitting the atom. After the U.S. entered the war in 1941, Roosevelt authorized the top-secret Manhattan Project to develop the weapon before the Nazis did so. Given the highest wartime priority, the project recruited hundreds of top physicists and engineers to work at a secret laboratory complex in the desert of New Mexico and to produce weapons-grade uranium and plutonium at special plants in Washington and Tennessee.

When Roosevelt died in April 1945, Harry Truman inherited a project that had secretly spent \$2 billion from the U.S. war budget and had developed powerful bureaucratic momentum. It would be no exaggeration to say that what Dwight Eisenhower would later call the “military-industrial complex,” as well as a national security culture organized around a permanent nexus of profit and secrecy, were born in the Manhattan Project. Production of the atomic weapon proceeded with all speed despite Germany’s surrender and the hopeless position of Japan under a tightening naval blockade and continual

conventional bombardment. It is now clear, thanks to research by Gar Alperovitz, Barton Bernstein, Martin Sherwin and others, that within the complex of motives and causes bearing on Truman's authorization of nuclear first-use, the desire of top-level advisors to "demonstrate" the weapons in order to secure American dominance of the postwar period and to justify the huge expenditure (thereby avoiding possible Congressional investigations) were decisive.⁵

All internal objections from scientists within the Manhattan Project and from dissenting members of the "Interim Committee" that Truman set up to consider targeting issues and explore possible implications were brushed aside or parried by bureaucratic maneuvers.⁶ Alternatives to this quantum leap in the terror bombing of civilians — including 1) aggressive diplomacy, 2) a demonstration before international witnesses, 3) use against a strictly military target, and 4) the issuance of a warning to allow civilian evacuation — were all rejected. In the event, the uranium-based bomb was used on Hiroshima just as soon as it was technically possible to do so. Three days later, a plutonium-based bomb was "demonstrated" on Nagasaki.

After the war, occupation censorship and strict American control over images from the two destroyed Japanese cities blocked any serious consideration of the direct human costs of first-use. The publication of unsettling hibukusha, or survivor, accounts were delayed until after the end of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials in 1948, and a de facto ban on photographic depictions of victims in misery largely restricted visual representations of Hiroshima to images of unpeopled material ruin.⁷ The American public was carefully shielded from images and narratives that might invite empathy with the victims and initiate self-critical processes.

American avoidance was not seriously disturbed until John Hersey's "Hiroshima" appeared in the August 31, 1946 issue of the *New Yorker*. This journalistic narrative about the ordeals of six survivors of the bombing evidently reactivated American sensibilities and contributed to a climate in which some intellectuals were no longer restraining themselves in questioning the necessity and morality of the American decision.⁸ Hersey's account had followed by just two months the July 1 report of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, which concluded that the "Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs did not defeat Japan" and that "certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."⁹

To nip this critical tendency in the bud, Harvard University president and former Interim Committee member James Conant solicited and oversaw the production and placement of two texts that enacted a major reassertion of the official story first announced by Truman himself: "If the Atomic Bomb Had Not Been Used," by Massachusetts Institute of Technology President and fellow Interim Committee alumnus Karl Compton, appeared in the December 1946 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*; while "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," signed by Henry Stimson, respected elder statesman and Truman's Secretary of War in 1945, came out in the February 1947 issue of *Harper's*. These two texts, and especially the latter, reassured the American public, with

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carefully controlled rhetoric and the full authority of the "establishment," that their leaders had acted with wisdom, humanity and responsibility. Americans could indulge their "sentimental" feelings for the victims without worrying themselves over the ethics or politics of first-use.¹⁰ As the cold war got underway, this early reassertion of the official story rigidified into orthodoxy. In a series of studies in the 1990s, historian Paul Boyer has shown that American memory of Hiroshima has fluctuated between remembering, indifference and motivated forgetting in parallel to the "shifting cycles of activism and quiescence in America's decades-long encounter with the nuclear threat."¹¹ America's own feeble *Historikerstreit*, or "historians' debate," would not take place until 1995, when controversy erupted around the Smithsonian Institution's plans to exhibit the *Enola Gay*, the aircraft that dropped the first nuclear bomb over Hiroshima, in the National Air and Space Museum on the mall in Washington, D.C.

Prior to that fiasco, what J. Samuel Walker has called a "new consensus" among historians had formed around elements of a critique of the official story.¹² The curators of the planned *Enola Gay* exhibition had created a script that took into account "revisionist" interpretations of historical evidence within a narrative that would have encouraged visitors to begin a critical process of their own. Even more novel, the emotional vortex of the exhibition, known as "Unit 4: Ground Zero," would have exposed many Americans for the first time to devastating photographs and relics documenting in depth the suffering of civilian, especially women and children, victims of the bombing. Well-organized veterans groups furiously attacked the planned exhibition in the media and by directly lobbying the government. By January 1995, acrimonious public debate had been raging for nine months. The critics, however, utterly dominated the controversy, and the curators were forced to revise their exhibition script repeatedly, to satisfy the objections of the Air Force Association and the American Legion. A politically impotent defense mobilized by historians and scholars was too little, too late. The battle ended when eighty-one members of Congress demanded the firing of Air and Space Museum director Martin Harwit and threatened deep cuts in the Smithsonian's budget if the exhibition was not brought in line with the official

myth. On January 30, Harwit announced the cancellation of the exhibition: the Enola Gay would be displayed with a single minimalist and uncritical panel of text. On May 2, Harwit resigned.¹³

The shock of this suppression provoked a number of excellent analyses and kick-started the belated writing of the history of American denial of Hiroshima. Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell's important 1995 study *Hiroshima in America* supplies indispensable psychoanalytic insights. *History Wars*, a 1996 collection of cultural histories edited by Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, convincingly situates the Enola Gay censorship within the context of the American debate over the politics of canon formation (popularly known as the "culture wars") at a moment when Republicans, under the aggressive ideological leadership of Newt Gingrich, had just captured the House of Representatives. Readers can evaluate the new historical arguments in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, a weighty but valuable 1998 compendium of documents and essays edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz, and in the academic essays collected by Michael Hogan in the 1996 *Hiroshima in History and Memory*.

This contextual review, then, clarifies what is behind the post-9/11 return of "ground zero." We must assume that the 1995 Enola Gay controversy exposed most Americans to the origins of this term. Promptly repressed or forgotten, the term was consigned to the unconscious until its reemergence after the September attacks. It seems then, that Americans are in the grips of that response Freud called "acting-out": they are reenacting an unconscious problem that is made more intense and emotional by their refusal to recognize its source and its repetitive character.

Acting out may be a necessary stage in the processing of a freighted past, but in this case the effects are not benign. Harry Truman's announcement of the bombing of Hiroshima began by reminding Americans of Pearl Harbor, clearly implying that a just punishment had finally been delivered. Elaborating the category of "moral inversion," Lifton and Mitchell have shown how the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and the Japanese outrages in Nanjing and Bataan were invoked to justify whatever Americans might do to the Japanese in return.¹⁴ Since by their brutality the Japanese had forfeited their humanity, avenging American victims could do as they liked: they would never be guilty of atrocity or crime against humanity, for they had already reduced the enemy, combatants and noncombatants alike, to subhuman status.

In the days after September 11, precisely this moral inversion was reactivated through official invocations of Pearl Harbor and the "evil-doers." And as the bombing of Afghanistan began, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld confirmed the deep internalization of the inversion by excusing America in advance for any innocent deaths in the new war. "Let there be no doubt," he declared on October 29, "responsibility for every single casualty in this war, be they innocent Afghans or innocent

Americans, rests at the feet of the Taliban and Al Qaeda."¹⁵ "Ground Zero" functions, then, within a discourse that sets up an equivalence between Pearl Harbor and 9/11 precisely in order to indulge a popular demand for ferocious vengeance and at the same time justify it with false-moral and false-historical authority.

More than six months later, we still do not know how many innocent victims were claimed by an aerial campaign that included the use of cluster bombs that will continue to kill and maim for years and a "thermobaric" bomb that approaches nuclear weapons in horrific effects. Independent estimates, including University of New Hampshire economist Marc Herold's detailed study of corroborated field reports, indicate a figure in the neighborhood of three thousand Afghan civilian dead.¹⁶ Whatever the number, we are ignorant of it because Afghan casualties are not deemed important enough to confirm and count scrupulously.

These observations in no way justify the atrocities of 9/11, of course, or contest the right to self-defense. But they confirm that for all the persistency with which Americans need to imagine themselves as the most virtuous people on earth, they remain

These observations in no way justify the atrocities of 9/11, of course, or contest the right to self-defense. But they confirm that for all the persistency with which Americans need to imagine themselves as the most virtuous people on earth, they remain largely in denial of their own genocidal history.

largely in denial of their own genocidal history. This denial continues to structure American foreign policy and use of force in ways that at worst are straightforwardly murderous and at best subvert the principles and institutions of international humanitarian law established to restrain the use of violence between and within states.

It is in this context that we must interpret longstanding United States resistance to a strong International Criminal Court (ICC) and "universal jurisdiction" provisions for the prosecution of former heads of state and high-level policymakers indicted for war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Bush administration's "unsigned" of the treaty authorizing the ICC — coming after its determined subversion of a string of other treaties, from the Kyoto accords on climate change to the whole structure of interdependent treaties limiting the testing, use and proliferation of nuclear weapons — openly confirms what was already clear: the ruling energy-military-industrial complex has only contempt for international opinion and prefers that America dominate other nations without being constrained by the rule of law or international humanitarian standards. We are on notice: from now on, America will only abide by treaties or recognize world opinion when it is convenient or advantageous to do so. The rest of the world will not hesitate to call this the behavior of a rogue state.

What the attacks of last September put in danger, then, was not American national survival, but that intertwining of public naivety and ignorance so necessary to the American bid to dominate and use for its own interests the supranational structures of global order. The ruling pragmatists understand well that the tightening net of international law and the growing global insistence that those who commit war crimes, atrocities and genocide be brought to account will sooner or later bring

indictments against American policymakers. While Christopher Hitchens has already made the case for prosecuting Henry Kissinger, the specter of Hiroshima opens up a potentially more devastating threat to official American myths.

There is no disputing the fact that the Bush administration's efforts to resuscitate the myth of the "good war" has been successful and popular with the American public. But it is also clear that a nation can only wage a "war on terror" by rigidly denying that it has, itself, perpetrated terror and atrocity. If "working through" Hiroshima would be a condition for a needed deflation of American self-perceptions and for a realignment of American foreign policy in the direction of multilateralism, consensus and global justice, this task has been set back precisely to the extent that an uncritical and, indeed, dishonest return to the "good war" script has entrenched itself since September 11. But deferral will not make the problem go away. This repressed will continue to return until a younger generation of latecomers and "victims by proxy" is able to break an institutionalized pattern of repetition.

This task will not be easy. Right now, Americans would rather act-out Hiroshima than make an effort to critically process it. Here, there has still not yet been the slightest official acknowledgment of Hiroshima Day: no expression of remorse or guilt has ever issued from any White House. As historian Richard Minear observed in 1995, there is no U.S. Atomic Holocaust Museum on the mall in Washington, D.C.¹⁷ There is not the foundation of a sustained collective struggle with this issue, led by America's artists, writers and intellectuals, that would have rendered the links between Hiroshima and the response to 9/11 visible and thinkable to the general public.

The return of Hiroshima from within this regressive moment of American patriotic excess at least helps us to see that the construction of a robust and durable 'post-traditional' cosmopolitanism will not be able to leap beyond national constraints, in some fantasy of a brave, wired world of open borders and free markets, but will first have to work through, slowly and painfully, the traumas inscribed in the very structures of national identity. While the juridical notion of human rights, as formulated in the 1948 Universal Declaration and broadcast tirelessly by Amnesty International and other NGOs, follows its own universalizing logic and emancipatory energy, it must function within contexts still dominated by the imperatives of nationalism and organized economic interests. While the principle of individual responsibility, however problematized by contemporary critical paradigms, is crucial to any notion of ethical and political 'maturity' or 'enlightened' subjectivity, so long as genocidal atrocities are perpetrated in the name of the nation, working-through will remain a collective and even structural, as well as a private, task.

[1] 'Ground zero: the skeleton of the World Trade Center' (photo caption), NY Times, September 16, 2001, p. WK5.

[2] Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., vol. VI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 879-880. Hanson W. Baldwin, 'Atom Bomb Is Proved Most Terrible Weapon,' NY Times, 7 July 1946, p. E10.

[3] NY Times, March 13, 2002, A13.

[4] For a survey of the literature, see J. Samuel Walker, 'The Decision to Use the Bomb: A Historiographical Update' in Michael J. Hogan, ed. *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 11-37.

[5] See Gar Alperovitz, 'Historians Reassess: Did We Need to drop the Bomb?' in Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz, eds. *Hiroshima's Shadow: Writings on the Denial of History and the Smithsonian Controversy* (Stony Creek, Connecticut: Pamphleteer's Press, 1998), pp. 5-21 and Barton J. Bernstein, 'Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender: Missed Opportunities, Little-Known near Disasters, and Modern Memory,' in *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, pp. 38-79.

[6] See William Lanouette, 'Three Attempts to Stop the Bomb,' in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, pp. 99-118.

[7] See John Dower, 'The Bombed: Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japanese Memory,' in *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, pp. 116-142.

[8] Hersey's widely disseminated text is in book form as *Hiroshima*, New York 1989. See also Michael Yavenditti, 'John Hersey and the American Conscience'; Mary McCarthy, 'The 'Hiroshima' New Yorker'; and Norman Cousins, 'The Literacy of Survival,' all in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, pp. 288-306.

[9] 'Japan's Struggle to End the War,' U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey Report, Washington, D.C. 1946, excerpted in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, pp. 501-2.

[10] The Stimson essay, largely ghost-written by McGeorge Bundy, is reprinted in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, pp. 197-210. See also Barton J. Bernstein's dissection of the text, 'Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History' and his related 'A Postwar Myth: 500,000 Lives Saved,' both in *ibid.*, pp. 163-196 and 130-134.

[11] Paul Boyer, 'Exotic Resonances: Hiroshima in American Memory,' in *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, pp. 149-150. See also Boyer's *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America's Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), pp. 41-55.

[12] Walker, 'The Decision to Use the Bomb: A Historiographical Update' in *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, pp. 11-37.

[13] See Edward T. Linenthal, 'Anatomy of a Controversy,' and Richard K. Kohn, 'History at Risk: The Case of the Enola Gay,' both in Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), pp. 9-62 and 140-170.

[14] Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, *Hiroshima in America: A Half-Century of Denial* (New York: Avon, 1995), p. 307-313.

[15] *The Nation*, November 26, 2001, p. 7.

[16] Herold concludes that from October 7 through March, 2002, "3000-3,400 civilians" were killed by U.S. bombs. His report, *A Dossier on Civilian Victims of United States Aerial Bombing of Afghanistan: A Comprehensive Accounting*, is reprinted at www.cursor.org. See also Barry Bearak, 'Unknown Toll in the Fog of War: Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan,' NY Times, February 10, 2001, pp. A1, A12.

[17] Richard Minear, 'Atomic Holocaust, Nazi Holocaust: Some Reflections,' *Diplomatic History* 19, No. 2, Spring 1995, pp. 347-365.

Alternative Press Magazines & Zines

Because there is such a huge volume of alternative material being published, in any single issue we are only able to review a hundred or so of the periodicals we receive. Zines and magazines go in and out of publication daily, so don't be surprised if a few of those listed here have already folded. You're almost always better off sending cash or stamps (or IRCs—International Postal Reply Coupons) for smaller zines, unless the review specifies otherwise. If you want to be sure whether a zine or magazine is still available, send a SASE with a request for current information first.

APR will send a free exchange copy to every publication reviewed in these pages (as long as it is at least 16 pages in length in standard 8½ x 11 size or 32 pages in smaller format). Please be aware that we receive hundreds of periodicals, more than we could ever review, and are constantly backlogged. Also keep in mind that the APR issue we send for exchanges will be the one a publication is reviewed in (when it is reviewed), so please be patient. APR does not exchange with non-English language publications. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn [JM], Dean Thomas [DT], Chuck Munson [CM].

THE AMERICAN RATIONALIST

Vol. 47, #3/May-June through #5/Sept.-Oct. 2002 (Center for Inquiry/AR, POB 741, Amherst, NY 14226-0741; e-mail: kazd@nmia.com) is still a 16-page bimonthly now subtitled "An Alternative to Superstition and Nonsense" and edited by Kaz Dziarka. Each issue includes a few analyses and criticisms of various aspects of religion, usually focusing on Christianity. The May-June issue features an amusing look at "The Goofiest Sect of All: A Rationalist Looks at Mormonism" by Don Havis. It really seems to be true that if Mormons

were only dumber than a doornail they might have figured out that the *Book of Mormon* is a complete fiction by now. The extent of their credulousness must be much worse to actually claim to believe such crap. The Sept.-Oct. issue includes an entertaining review of *Child Sexual Abuse and False Memory Syndrome*, a book largely critical of the ridiculous—often quite destructive—idea that people can repress memories of sexual abuse only to remember them much later on when in the care of quack therapists. Subscriptions are \$13/year (6 issues). [JM]

ASR: ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST REVIEW

#35-36/Fall 2002 (POB 2824, Champaign, IL 61825) is a 56-page quarterly promoting anarchist unionism. The Fall issue features tributes to (and reprints from the writing of) late, long-time anarcho-syndicalist Sam Dolgoff on the hundredth anniversary of his birth. Although some of his publishing work (notably his anthology *Bakunin on Anarchy*) has been very beneficial and useful to the anarchist milieu, he was unfortunately also (as even some of his supporters and friends admit) a very narrow-minded and sectarian old syndicalist, which limited his influence. Two reviews in this issue of Dolgoff's essay "The Relevance of Anarchism to Modern Society" (by Brian Sheppard & Jeff Shantz) celebrate some of the worst aspects of his writing. Also included is a reprint of his dated essay on "Kropotkin's Revolutionary Philosophy." This is *the* magazine for those who believe there is still some life in the ideal of anarchist industrial unions. Subscriptions are \$15/4 issues. [JM]

BARRICADEA

Agitational Monthly of the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists
#18-19[double issue]/Oct. 2002 (POB 73, Boston, MA 02133; web site: www.barricada.org) is the militant monthly zine of the Barricada Collective, a member of NEFAC. It may well be the only anarchist monthly in North America at this time. This 40-page double-issue includes anti-racist and union news, along with accounts of shutting down a talk by ex-Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu in Montreal and the eviction of the Chevrotiere squat, as well as a section on Eastern European news. There's also a "Critical Analysis" of NEFAC's attempt at organizing its "Festival del Pueblo" this past spring, and a piece "On the Question of the Revolutionary Anarchist Organization" indicating that NEFAC remains confused about its adoption of platformism, supposedly retaining autonomous collectives and advocating "revolutionary pluralism" (both in direct contradiction to platformism), while still

accepting other major platformist positions. The cover price is now \$3; subscriptions are \$15/6 issues. [JM]

BIGGER ISN'T BETTER

(c/o READ Magazine, POB 3437, Astoria, NY 11103; email: ambiente@earthlink.net) is a 56-page personal and music zine. Jennifer is the editor and she likes punk rock, traveling, and studying urban planning in grad school. In this issue she writes about Los Angeles, New York City (where she calls home), and a trip to Southeast Asia. It's kind of unusual to find a punk zine that talks about Mike Davis and urban planning. Not surprisingly, there are two pieces about public transportation: Jennifer interviews Rick about taking the bus in Los Angeles and then she ruminates on the New York City subway in "Subway Riding and Standardized Tests." Interviews in this issue include: The Muffs, Vandals, and the Mr T. Experience.

\$2 [CM]

BLACK BADGER

#5/undated (POB 508, Berkeley, CA 94701-0508; e-mail: blackbadger23@juno.com) is an entertaining, unpaginated anarchist personal zine. So far each issue has been far better by far than the average zine, and this one is no exception. This issue includes "Excerpts from a letter to a Wobbly" (covering very important aspects of post-left critique and the relation of fascism to syndicalism), a correspondence discussion on organization, and "Badger Thoughts on Work & Class Struggle." Sample copies are still \$2 post-paid. [JM]

BLACK FLAG

#222/undated (BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, Eng-land) is a 40-page anarcho-syndicalist magazine, subtitled "For Anarchist Resistance," now with a colorful, glossy cover sure to get it more attention on newsstands. This issue features a piece on privatization and gentrification in one of the London boroughs, an interesting and timely look at "Justice—A Bourgeois Concept?" (yes, of course it is!), a very confused piece on "Changing the way we think of Direct Action" (in which the author quotes Marx & Camatte before going on to argue for a recuperative reformism and a leftist "dual power" strategy), and an interesting interview with a couple French anarchists (despite its initial focus on left opposition to Le Pen). Last but not least, every issue includes an "Anarcho-Quiz"! This has been one of my favorite anarchist reads for decades, and it's good to see the magazine getting back in stride after a several-year slow-down. The cover price is £2; subscriptions are £10/-4 issues. [JM]

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BREAST CANCER ACTION

#66/July-Aug. 2001 through #73/Sept-Oct. 2002 (55 New Montgomery, Suite 323, San Francisco, CA 94105; web site: www.bcaction.org) is an excellent, professionally-produced 12-page newsletter to help "end the breast cancer epidemic" and promote women's health. The May-June issue includes a critique of the Christian fundamentalist propaganda claiming that abortion increases the risk of breast cancer by Jane Zones, an insightful piece by Lauren John on "The Power of Negative Thinking" (criticizing the fetish for positive thinking that too often goes to ridiculous extremes), and a powerful excerpt from a book by Sandra Steingraber arguing for "Purifying Breast Milk: A Human Rights Issue." The Sept.-Oct. issue includes an interesting piece on "Building Bridges from Conventional to Alternative Medicine" by oncologist Debu Tripathy, MD. Highly recommended. Subscriptions are \$35/year, "but no one is refused for lack of funds." [JM]

CAMPUS

America's Student Magazine

Vol.13,#2/Spring 2002 (I.S.I., POB 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431; phone: 1-800-526-7022; web site: www.isi.org) is now a professionally produced, 38-page right-wing magazine that bills itself as "the only national student-edited, student-written newspaper for college students." This issue features a lot byzantine, less than logical argumentation in support for war against the "evil" of various aspects of non-Western civilizations, including a hilarious piece titled "Across the Land, Patriotism under Siege!" Subscriptions are free with (free) I.S.I. membership or \$10/3 issues for non-members. [JM]

CHICAGO ABC ZINE

#1/undated (South Chicago ABC Zine Distro, POB 721, Homewood, IL 60430) is the new 60-page prisoner support zine of the Chicago Anarchist Black Cross. This issue features info on the Chicago ABC, prisoner projects (including Harold Thompson's case against prison censorship of anarchist materials—an ever increasing problem—and Jerome White-Bey's attempt to form a prison union in Missouri), along with a few analyses of aspects of the criminal (in)justice system. Send \$2 for a copy. Free to all prisoners. [JM]

CONTRA MUNDUM

An Occasional Journal of Theological Reflection

#93/Sept. 20, 2001 through #97/Oct. 10, 2002 (POB 2535, New York, NY 10108-2535; web site: www.contramundum.com) is a now erratically-

appearing 4-page newsletter which, according to the publisher, "seeks to summon persons to theological awareness and to religious obedience." The Sept. 20, 2001 issue features commentary on the sexual involvement of pastoral supervisors with their trainees. The May issue consists of a reprint of a good essay from the *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, titled "The Witches' Brew of Spirituality and Medicine," sensibly arguing that "In their treatment, physicians would do well to keep an arm's length from spirituality..." Skeptics might suggest keeping spirituality at an even greater distance for the sake of everyone concerned, given the historical record of deleterious effects by many religions on public health. The October 10th issue is "A Response to Donal Capps' *Jesus: A Psychological Biography*, arguing that in light of Capps' portrait Christianity is "a pretentious system of divine salvation" now "rendered irrelevant." Subscriptions are \$15/year (12 issues). [JM]

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

#114/July-Aug. through #116/ Nov.-Dec. 2002 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. The July-August issue features a reprint of Louis Prisco's confusionist attempt at a survey of "What's left of the left?"—which he's subtitled "Is post-leftist anarchist-primitivism a cure for political pessimism? Or is it a symptom?" (It's not clear why 1/3 of this issue was devoted to reprinting this piece, since Prisco is unable to distinguish between primitivist, post-leftist and post-modernist theories, resulting in a mushy analysis which doesn't lead anywhere, especially since he himself doesn't appear to have much understanding of the critique of capitalism!) The Nov.-Dec. issue includes a discussion of the capitalist nature of unions, an attempt at clarification by Louis Prisco of his "What's Left...?" article noted above, and a reprint of "An Eco-socialist Manifesto" (a somewhat tepid call for "limits to growth" socialism). This bulletin remains open to participation from readers who identify with this political sector. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues). [JM]

THE EAST VILLAGE INKY

#14/January 2002 (Ayun Halliday, 122 Dean St., Brooklyn, NY 11201) is a delightful 44-page quarterly mini comic zine about the daily life of one 37-year-old mom and her family in Brooklyn, New York. In this issue, Ayun talks about underwear and reviews local thrift stores, the hazards of working out, mom and the kids take a trip on the subway, and the ins and outs of marketing your zine, guerilla style. Simple illustrations, hand-lettered pages, and personal

content add up to one of the more interesting personal zines being published these days. Not just for moms! \$2 [CM]

EILYSIAN FIELDS QUARTERLY

The Baseball Review

Vol.17, #3/ (Knothole Publishing, PO Box 14385, St. Paul, MN 55114-0385)

It's been over a decade since I last picked up a copy of this quarterly journal about the sport of baseball and it is still a delight to read, even for us lapsed baseball fans. Each issue of this journal includes short essays on current topics in baseball, like the proposed changes to Fenway Park in Boston, as well as essays on baseball history, fiction, quizzes, and interviews. In this issue, Bruce Markusen and Ron Visco go over the history of the legendary Washington Senators, with special attention paid to the long career of Walter Johnson, which culminated in the Senators winning the 1924 World Series. John J. Rooney, in what is a gem of sports history writing, relates his experiences as a neighborhood street urchin in the 1920s who lived across the street from Shibe Park, which was once home to the Philadelphia Athletics. He relates several stories about chasing home run balls around the park and an amusing incident where the neighborhood stood up to tax collectors from the city's amusement tax department. This issue also includes a long interview with Bob Costas. Recommended. \$22.50/year. \$30/year (US funds) in Canada and Mexico. [CM]

EXTRA!

Vol.15,#1/Feb. - #4/Oct. 2002 (Subscription Service, POB 170, Congers, NY 10920-9930; www.fair.org) is the 32-page bimonthly magazine of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), a "national media watch group that offers well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship" published from a left-liberal perspective. The June issue features a cover story on the amazing repackaging of the nation's best-known moron, George W. Bush, titled "From Bozo to Churchill!" The August issue features Seth Ackerman's "The Myth of the 'Generous Offer'" (on the amazing mainstream media distortion of Barak's miserable terms for a Palestinian Bantustan "state"). The April issue features Noam Chomsky's masterful dissection of media doublespeak about the terrorist US "War on Terror" in "The Journalist from Mars." The October issue includes revealing analysis of the hypocritical coverage by the *Washington Post* of US-client-state Iraq's poison gas attacks when they occurred (and served US interests) and its participation in the demonization of enemy-state Iraq using those historical attacks as though the US

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had no responsibility for building up Iraq's chemical weapons abilities in the first place. It also includes a review of the hysterical reaction of the media and religious right to Judith Levine's excellent look at the harm done to children by current highly repressive, anti-sexual attitudes in the US in her recent book *Harmful to Minors*. Always recommended as an antidote to pervasive media biases. Subscriptions are now \$21/year (including the bimonthly newsletter, *EXTRA! Update*). [JM]

FENCE SITTER

#1 (email: fencezine@yahoo.com) is a little zine for bisexual activists. This is very much a rough, free form zine, complete with handwriting and collages. Includes poetry, anecdotes, quotes, drawings, little factoids on bisexuality, and pictures of bisexual folks with their friends and lovers. \$1 [CM]

FIFTH ESTATE

#356/Spring through #358/Fall 2002 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is now a 32 to 56-page semi-primitivist magazine with a new editorial collective in Tennessee. The Summer issue features Julie Herrada's first-person account of her visit to Israel and the occupied territories, Peter Lamborn Wilson's fascinating "My Summer Vacation in Afghanistan" (an account of a trip in 1968-9), an explanation by Alix Kates Shulman in "Dances with Feminists" about where the fake but ubiquitous Emma Goldman quotes (there are many variants) about dancing and revolution originated, and an amazingly naive piece by Peter Lippman titled "While Yugoslavia Burned the Left Looked the Other Way" (arguing that the New World Empire didn't ever do anything to intentionally destabilize Yugoslavia and fantasizing that leftists like Noam Chomsky who steadfastly opposed the US/NATO bombings and other military interventions were some-how "looking the other way"). The Fall issue features a defense of moralistic pacifism (illogically characterizing violence as always "authoritarian") in "Instead of a Primer," while coincidentally including David Watson's long, boring attack on *Alternative Press Review* for having the temerity to consistently oppose the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia (which he thinks wasn't such a bad idea) and for publishing an excerpt from Slobodan Milosevic's statement to the NATO victor's court in the Hague without asking Watson's permission. The pathetic diatribe ends by condemning "the entire Western intervention in the Balkans" as "too little and disastrously too late." (Should NATO have bombed more people and sooner?) Sad but true. Single copies are now \$3; subscriptions are now \$10/4 issues. [JM]

THE FIGHT FOR REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM A Newsletter for Student and Community Activists

Vol. XVI, #2/Spring 2002 (Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program, Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002-5001; web site: <http://hamp.hampshire.edu/~clpp>) is a 16-page newsletter on liberal campus activism featuring an article in this issue devoted to anti-war activism in the wake of Sept. 11th by Azi Shariatmidar, and a piece by Sara Little-crow-Russell titled "Time to Take a Critical Look at Depo-Provera." No price listed. [JM]

FISH PISS

Vol. 2, #2/Fall-Winter 2002 (Spontaneous Productions Rgd., Box 1232, Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y 3K2 Canada) is a 100-page zine that looks like a personal zine, but is actually one of the better political zines that this reviewer has recently discovered. This issue features an comprehensive feature on the Summit of Americas protests in Quebec City in 2001. This feature by itself stands alone as one of the best overall packages of anecdotes and analysis on the Quebec City protests that have been written so far. If one wanted to learn about what happened at the Summit of Americas protests, this issue of Fish Piss would be a good place to start. The main narrative of the Quebec City feature is arranged by day of the protest and is comprised of anecdotes from people who participated. This feature also includes breakout sections such as "The Fence!!!" (about the security fence erected by the authorities and successful attempts by protesters to take it down), "The Germinal Arrests" (about a frame-up of a small group of activists on weapons charges before the protests began), and "Kidnapped" (about the arrest of anarchist activist, Jaggi Singh). Recommended. \$3. \$14 for 4 issues. [CM]

FREEDOM

Anarchist Fortnightly

Vol. 63, #7/April 5 through Vol. 63, #17/Sept. 7, 2002 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England; web site: www.ecn.org/freedom) is a long-running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment covering international, as well as British, social struggles. The May 18th issue covers anarchist events throughout Britain on May 1st, while the June 15th issue includes coverage of the preemptive arrests of everyone who showed up for the Movement Against the Monarchy's "Execute the Queen" street party—before it even began! The June 29th issue has a half-hearted & unconvincing defense of anti-porn, authoritarian feminist Andrea Dworkin titled "Pornography and DIY." Recent issues include an ongoing section of the newspaper reassessing where it is and where it

should be going. North American subscriptions are still £22/year (24 issues). [JM]

FUNNY TIMES

Vol. 17, #11/Nov. 2002 (POB 18530, Cleveland Hts., OH 44118) is a 28-page humor tabloid chock full of good comics (Bill Griffith's "Zippy," "Troubletown," Andy Singer, plus many, many more) and humor essays (Michael Moore on "How the Confederacy finally won the war" and the ubiquitous Dave Barry). This issue includes a few anti-war comics amidst the lighter fare. US subscriptions are \$23/year. [JM]

FUZZY HEADS ARE BETTER

#9/April 2000 (Patti Kim, Box 68568, 360A Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1X1, Canada; email: patti@bananapower.org; web fuzzheadsarebetter.org or bananapower.org) is a little zine that demonstrates that some things are better done on paper than on some Internet blog. This issue starts off with several of the editor's final columns for her gig at Punk Planet. Julie Mooney contributes several poems on menstruation (part of several items on that topic in this issue). Jonathan recounts his experiences in Quebec City during the 2001 anti-FTAA protests. Patti Kim also contributes a funny comic strip titled "Is Activism Sexy." It's worth getting this issue if only to see the panel in this comic that depicts Noam Chomsky's head in a BDSM collage. \$2 [CM]

GOTHIC BEAUTY

#5 (544 East Ogden #700-336, Milwaukee, WI 53202; e-mail: info@GothicBeauty.com; web: www.gothicbeauty.com) is a 62-page glossy magazine for women who like to dress in the goth style, as well as people who are interested in the goth aesthetic. Most of the magazine is devoted to fashion spreads, which are presented in a style similar to fashion magazines, albeit with photography that still has that DIY aesthetic. This issue has an interview with KMFDM, designers Engima Fashions, and bands Sumerland and The Dreamside. I've had the copy of this issue floating around my apartment for many months and visitors have had reactions to it ranging from pure excitement to disdainful dismissals. Many folks involved in DIY culture turn up their noses when it comes to fashion, but if you are interested in gothic culture and fashion, Gothic Beauty should more than meet your needs. \$4.95. \$24.95 for 4 issues. [CM]

GREEN ANARCHIST

For the destruction of Civilization

#66/Spring & #67/Autumn 2002 (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England; or POB 11331,

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Eugene, OR 97440, USA) is an interesting 16 to 20-page eco-anarchist, anticivilization tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions. The Spring issue features a simplistic critique of corporate globalization—along with its opposition—titled “No Globalization...and a good few ‘no’s when it comes to anti-globalization too!” It also includes John Connor’s interesting analysis of last year’s May Day protests, a critique of Ya Basta! titled “Beware of White-Dressed Cops,” and a point/counterpoint page in which John Zerzan disses *Willful Disobedience* and Justin Stephens responds in its defense. The Autumn issue includes a nasty cover with the lines, “Society is Sick” and “This is the Cure,” accompanied by a number of bullets, along with articles including “An American in Paris” (the story of Murray Bookchin’s pseudo-activity in Paris ’68), a couple takes on Hardt & Negri’s *Empire*, and a critical review of CrimethInc’s *Days of War, Nights of Love*. This zine remains well worth the price with sample copies \$3 or £1.50, and subscriptions \$15 or £5/5 issues. [JM]

IDS INSIGHTS

Vol.3, #1/May 2002 (IDS, 177 East 87th St, Suite 501, New York, NY 10128) is the 12-page newsletter of the Institute for Democracy Studies, presenting accounts of its latest investigations into rightwing, anti-abortion, anti-feminist organizing in the U.S. This issue’s lead story by Lee Cokorinos, titled “Unfinished Business: The Continuing Assault on Diversity,” details the major players in current right-wing campaigns to reverse civil rights programs (including the Federalist Society, along with the obviously misnamed Institute for Justice, Center for Individual Rights and American Civil Rights Institute). Subscriptions are \$25/4 issues. [JM]

I HATE CARTOONS

#1 (e-mail: attaboy@yumfactory.com; web: www.yumfactory.com) is slick collection of cartoon art, featuring some of the best graphic art being done by contemporary cartoonists. Ira Goble contributes a fake 1963 toy catalog that includes some strange toys that just might have been manufactured. Comes with color postcards and stickers. Includes some adult content. Recommended. \$6.96 plus shipping. [CM]

THE INDYPENDENT

The newspaper of the New York City Independent Media Center

March 2002 / April 2002 (NYC IMC Print Team, 34 East 29th St., 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10016) is an excellent 24-page monthly newspaper published by media activists associated with the New York City Independent Media Center. This is the highest quality Indymedia newspapers I’ve seen

and it really sets the model for what Independent Media Centers can do with a local newspaper. Many alternative media activists—including this reviewer—have argued that publishing a local newspaper is an important extension of the predominantly cyberspace-oriented IMC network. The March 2002 issue includes an excellent cover story by Ana Nogueira and Josh Breitbart on the situation in Argentina. Heather Haddon writes about how women who have suffered from domestic abuse have been lost in the shadow of 9-11. The centerfold feature is titled “Fight Like a Girl” and includes brief profiles of women who inspire us. Kate Crane writes about the importance of “Getting off the Activist Carousel”; activists need to have personal lives in addition to the time they spend on activism. Each issue of the Independent includes a small section in Spanish, with this issue including articles about the popular assemblies in Argentina and the Bolivian anarcho-feminist group Mujeres Creando. In the April 2002 issue, Jessica Stein writes about the New York City chapter of Women in Black, Heather Haddon reports on community activists who are opposed to incinerators, and Rachel Neumann writes about being Jewish and for Palestine. Highly recommended. \$20/year (10 issues) [CM]

INFILTRATION

#17 (POB 13, Station E, Toronto, ON M6H 4E1, Canada; web: www.infiltration.org) is an occasionally published 24-page digest-sized zine about “going places you’re not supposed to go.” To be more specific, it is devoted to the adventures of “illegal” urban exploration from thrill-seekers climbing tall buildings to exploring subway tunnels and everything in-between. *Infiltration* features several first-person accounts and interviews of these adventures often illustrated with maps, pictures and diagrams. This issue has Peter Hassall recounting his experience climbing the 15-story Hotel Intercontinental known as the “Big 1” in Auckland, New Zealand, an interview with Greenpeace activists Steven Guilbeault and Chris Holden and their climbing adventures, specifically the ascending of the CN Tower to hang a banner reading “Canada and Bush = Climate Killers,” and experienced Dutch building climber Jan van der Meulen’s experience tackling Rotterdam’s “De Hoge Heren” apartment building. *Infiltration* does a pretty good job of covering the fun, excitement, and dangers of illegal climbing and other “off-limits” explorations in urban environments. \$2 cash by mail. [DT]

INSURGENT

Vol.8, #4/Feb., #5/March & #6/May-June [double issue] 2002 (Erb Memorial Union, Suite One, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1228; e-

mail: collective@theinsurgent.org; web site: www.theinsurgent.org) is a generic left, multicultural student newspaper. The March issue includes an anarchist perspective on a liberal environmental conference in Eugene. The May-June double-issue focusses on critiques of the media, including Jonah Lamb’s “Recruits Needed for Killing and Dying” (on the Army’s lying “Be all you can be” ad campaign), and a positive review of Michael Ruppert’s controversial “Truth and Lies about 9/11 and the American Empire’s War against the American People” by Phoenix. Unfortunately, this issue is out late because The Insurgent’s longtime printer refused to print the issue due to its innocuous black-&-white cover image showing two nudists sitting on a beach! Subscriptions are now \$15/year. [JM]

IN THESE TIMES

Vol.26, #8/Mar. 18 through #24/Oct. 28, 2002 (Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647; web: www.inthesetimes.com; e-mail: itt@inthesetimes.com) is a professionally-produced, 30-page fortnightly “alternative newsmagazine” providing a left-liberal perspective on major national and international news stories in a timely manner—impossible for periodicals appearing less frequently. The April 15 issue includes a piece by Neve Gordon on “Sharon’s Lessons in Terror” (which opens with his despicable demand to “increase the number of Palestinian casualties” to “each them a lesson”), along with a cover story on the secret international transactions of major banks through clearinghouses like Clearstream in Luxembourg (where money laundering is easy and massive). The May 27th issue features a centerfold story by Charmaine Seitz on the Israeli war crimes in Jenin. The July 8th issue includes a good piece by Doug Ireland titled “New FBI, Same Old Problems.” And the Sept. 16th issue features an important recollection by Salim Muwakkil of “The Forgotten History of Islam in America.” Subscriptions are \$36.95/year (26 issues). [JM]

KSL

Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library

#28/Oct. 2001 through #30/May 2002 (KSL, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an 8-page newsletter “dedicated to countering the distortion and lies that pass for the history Anarchism” in order to “give the anarchist movement a true view of its origins.” The October issue features an excellent response from Emiliano Zapata to the trite wisdom that “violence breeds violence” under the title of “Whose Violence?” The May issue includes an interesting “Open Letter to

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Luis Puenzo" from América Scarfó critical of his script for a movie about Severino Di Giovanni, along with a short essay tying up some of the loose historical ends of the Di Giovanni "affair." There's solid historical information in each issue. Send a contribution for a sample copy. [JM]

LEFT CURVE

#26 (PO Box 472, Oakland, CA 94604; e-mail: editor@leftcurve.com; web: www.leftcurve.com) is a 146-page, irregular journal of Left politics and culture. The articles here tend to be academic and fairly readable, with the exception of one article that is a shining example of the incomprehensible scribbles that come from the pen of postmodernist "thinkers." The issue starts off with a bang—Adrian Gargett's interesting rumination on the spectacle of Osama bin Laden ("Resurrection Man"). Dan Geogakas interviews scriptwriter Walter Bernstein, who was one of the blacklisted Hollywood writers during the McCarthy era. They talk about making political films and the controversial decision to give a honorary Academy Award to director Elia Kazan, who had testified against writers like Bernstein at the House UnAmerican Activities Committee hearings. This issue is jam-packed with poetry—there are special sections devoted to poetry from Croatian poets and from inmates at the Eastern Correctional Facility in upstate New York. \$30 for 3 issues. [CM]

LEFT TURN

From Anticapitalism to Revolution

#8/February-March 2003 (Left Turn Books, 1463 E. Republican St. #25A, Seattle, WA 98112; web: www.left-turn.org) is a bimonthly, 56-page magazine of anti-capitalist activism and radical perspectives on contemporary events. The theme of this issue is "American Empire." Articles on this theme include "Framing Iraq: the marketing of preemptive war" by Chris Toensin, "The Bush Doctrine: guns, money and oil" by Stan Goff, and "Afghanistan: lies, near lies and horrible truths" by Pranjal Tiwari. Eric Laursen examines how the American media collaborates with the US government in "The Media and War." South African activist, Trevor Ngwame, is interviewed in "Neoliberalism and the Left: revolution in South Africa." Other articles in this issue cover politics in Brazil and Colombia, the recent European Social Forum, recent dockworker struggles, and the student response to the war on Iraq. Be sure to check out the excellent book review section. One of the best current magazines covering politics and current events from a radical anti-capitalist point of view. Highly recommended. \$3. \$25 for six issues. [CM]

MUSELETTER

#121/Mar. through #126/Aug. 2002 (Richard Heinberg, 1604 Jennings Ave., Santa Rosa, CA. 95401; e-mail: heinberg@museletter.com; web site: www.museletter.com/museletter/) is an enjoyable 4 to

6-page monthly comment zine "of cultural renewal." Each issue usually includes one substantial essay or review by publisher Richard Heinberg, with these current issues containing chapters from his important upcoming book, *The Party's Over: Energy Resources and the Fate of Industrial Societies*. The May issue features "Non-Petroleum Energy Sources: Can the Party Continue?" The August issue features "Managing the Collapse." Highly recommended. Subscriptions are still \$15/year. [JM]

NEW UNIONIST

#293/Sept. through #296/Jan. 2003 (1821 University Ave W #5-116, St Paul, MN. 55104; web site: www1.minn.net/~nup) is the 8-page monthly tabloid of the De Leonist New Union Party whose fantasy is to get all workers "to unite in one rank-and-file controlled union." The September issue cover advocates "Get corruption out of government by Voting for Ourselves," while this issue's main story is titled "As U.S. economy falters, world economy faces a spreading Depression." Subscriptions have increased to \$7/year. [JM]

NEXUS NEW TIMES

Vol.8,#4/July-Aug. 2001 through Vol.9,#5/Sept.-Oct 2002 (Nexus New Times, 2940 E Colfax #131, Denver, CO 80206; web site: www.nexusmagazine.com) is a mildly interesting monthly magazine for credulous people everywhere, promoting UFOs & alien abduction theories, free energy & bizarre "science" theories, paranoid conspiracy theories, religious & paranormal delusions, etc., along with a few more serious, substantial and self-critical looks at contemporary social, political, ecological and technological issues mixed in. Without the latter the magazine wouldn't be worth picking up, but for example, the July-Aug. 2001 issue includes a run-down of the left-liberal "Project Censored" stories from last year, the transcription of a news show critical of the risks of using Bovine Growth Hormone to increase milk production that was censored by Fox TV, and an excellent piece by Michel Chossudovsky titled "US Finances Ethnic War in the Balkans" (exposing just one of many instances in which the US government has been covertly financing and encouraging armed conflicts in many parts of the world). The Sept.-Oct. 2001 issue features an interview with archeologist Fredrik Hiebert concerning "A Central Asian Civilisation as Ancient as Sumeria" that is just now being studied. The July-Aug. 2002 issue features Joel Beinín & Lisa Hajjar's well done piece titled "A Brief History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict" (reprinted from the Middle East Research and Information Project web page, www.merip.org). Subscriptions are \$24.95/year (+\$5/yr more in Canada). [JM]

NORTHEASTERN ANARCHIST

#5/Fall-Winter 2002 (c/o Sabate Anarchist Collective [NEFAC], POB 230685, Boston, MA 02123) is the 40-

page semi-platformist "Magazine of the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists" [NEFAC], featuring interviews by Duke with several NEFAC members who are also reformist union organizers, an account by Chekov Feeney (of the Irish Workers Solidarity Movement) of his recent NEFAC speaking tour, a hectoring critique of "The Anti-G8 Protests in Calgary" by Tom Keefer, a ridiculous rant by Brian Sheppard on "Anarchism and the Labor Movement" (in which he naively claims that "The problem with American organized labor is its leadership."—if only there were some anarchist leaders in the AFL-CIO and Teamsters they'd be revolutionary?!), and Aileen O'Carroll's account of the Bolshevik destruction of the Russian Revolution (in which he ignores the effects of authoritarian ideology and organization and concludes that they voluntaristically "could have followed a more democratic route, but they chose not to"). Jeff Shantz has a couple pieces in this issue, including "Radical Ecology and Class Struggle: A Re-Consideration." Unfortunately, though, much of this issue seems oriented primarily towards pushing anarchists toward dead-end involvement in reformist left organizing. The cover price is \$4; subscriptions are \$15/4 issues. [JM]

NOT BORED!

#34/July 2002 (POB 1115, New York, NY 10009; web site: www.notbored.org) remains an often stimulating and interesting, 36-page pro-situationist zine. This issue opens with a description of the publisher's original reactions to the attack on the World Trade Center last year—"amazed and impressed." Also in this issue is "Smoke Screens" (denouncing Bush's insane "War on [non-U.S.-sponsored] Terrorism"), and "A New Garden of Eden" (proposing that Adam Purple rebuild his "Garden of Eden" at "ground zero" as a fitting replacement of the hideous World Trade Center towers! No price; send a contribution. "No trades, subscriptions or advertising." [JM]

NUKEWATCH PATHFINDER

unnumbered/Summer & Fall 2002 (POB 649, Luck, WI 54853-0649) is an 8-page anti-nuclear weapons & anti-nuclear power tabloid documenting and encouraging "nonviolent" resistance. The Summer issue includes a piece by Rayna Moss on "Israel's Dimona 'Death Factory' Exposed" (the exposure was on Israeli TV, 14 years after the heroic Israeli Mordecai Vanunu was kidnapped, tortured and imprisoned in Israel for revealing to the world a few of the deadly secrets of the Israeli nuclear weapons program). Send an SASE for a sample. [JM]

OFF!

unnumbered/Summer & Fall 2002 (OCC, SUNY Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13902; e-mail: offeditor@hotmail.com) is the 40 to 56-page newsprint magazine of the Off Campus College Meeting of SUNY Binghamton. The Summer issue

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includes a whole lot of prisoner support & prison abolition information, as well as a somewhat interesting "History of Cuban Internationalism" by Bonnie Massey, and Omawali Shabazz's critique of "The Educational System" whose role is "to indoctrinate, assimilate, acculturate, and/or annihilate the minds of our children." The Fall issue includes a sympathetic review of John Zerzan's new book, *Running on Emptiness* by Daisy Chung. Send a contribution for a sample copy. [JM]

POST AMERIKAN

Vol.31, #4/Aug.-Sept & #5/Oct.-Nov. 2002 (POB 3452, Bloomington, IL 61702) is a long-running (30 years!) bimonthly, 20-page, community-oriented, alternative tabloid. Each issue includes short commentaries on current news subjects. The Aug.-Sept. issue features a short essay from Jesse Wolf Hardin on "An Ecopsychology of Place," along with several pages of poetry. The Oct.-Nov. issue features a cover graphic of a Nazi soldier with the line "Join the War against Terrorism." Subscriptions are still a cheap \$6/year. [JM]

PROFESSIONAL/SCHOLARLY PUBLISHING BULLETIN

Vol.3, #1/Spring & #2/Summer 2002 (Association of American Publishers, 71 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10003; www.publishers.org & www.pspcentral.org) is an 8-page newsletter devoted to scholarly publishing issues—and especially electronic document delivery in this issue at least. These people apparently smell big money in policing their copyrights, demonstrating that they have less concern for the importance of getting the content they publish into people's hands than for the potential money to be made by limiting its accessibility. Not worth looking at unless you want to know one face of the enemies of the free circulation of knowledge. No price listed. [JM]

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW

Washington's Most Unofficial Source

#371/July 2001 through #377/Sept. 2002 (1312 18th St. NW [5th Floor], Washington, DC 20036; web site: <http://prorev.com>; e-mail: news@prorev.com) is a 10 to 12-page bimonthly newsletter covering the geographical seat of U.S. government power from a "progressive," pro-capitalist perspective. The October 2001 issue includes an interesting "Parable: The Attica that Wasn't" (about a 1971 prison revolt at the Washington DC jail in which negotiation was used by authorities instead of insane firepower). The May 2002 issue comes out squarely against Bush's terrorist War against Terrorism. Sample copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$18/year. [JM]

READ MAGAZINE

#20/Spring 2002 (PO Box 3437, Astoria, NY 11103) is an excellent 84-page magazine that can be described as a cross between personal and music zines. You

have to appreciate a magazine that includes interviews with Asian-American porn star, Kobe Tai, and Dungeons and Dragons founder, Gary Gygax, in the same issue. The theme of this issue is "adrenaline and crush." Several writers remember the crushes they had on people in school. Christopher Campbell went one step further and developed a crush on movie star, Winona Ryder, which ended when Ryder actually bought theater tickets from Campbell one day. Carrie McNinch pens an excellent cartoon on her junior high crush, who turned out to be another girl. In addition to the aforementioned Gary Gygax and Kobe Tai interviews, this issue also has interviews with anime voice actor Crispin Freeman, sketch comedian David Cross, and several bands, including AFI, The Slackers, Let's Go Bowling, Mushroomhead, and Youth Brigade. Each issue also includes reviews of music, videos, zines, movies, video games, and books. \$3 [CM]

RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

unnumbered/Spring 2002 (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2001 S St NW, Suite 620, Washington, DC 20009; web site: www.ncrp.org) is a 20-page newsletter devoted to the arcane workings of the non-profit foundation sector of capitalist development, encouraging a bit more social concern from these subordinate social-control bureaucracies which have traditionally been funded from the loot pillaged by churches, tycoons and corporations from the poor and middle classes. Don't look for any radical critique or self-understanding here. That might upset the financial appraiser. Not very interesting, to say the least. Subscriptions are \$25/year. [JM]

RETAIL WHORE

A zine about love, relationships and retail #4 and #5 (c/o Katherine Raz, 5741 N. Ridge #3ne, Chicago, IL 60660) is a 36-page witty and perceptive personal zine by Katherine Raz, who is a young person living in Chicago. This zine is about her life, loves, and shitty retail jobs. It was interesting to read Raz's anecdote about quitting a job at Borders after reading an Utne Reader feature on anarchism (which included a John Zerzan interview that had been published in *Alternative Press Review*). Issue #5 includes an amusing rant about Wicker Park bars and segues into a fun quiz that is supposed to help you find the Chicago bar that best suits your lifestyle, politics and drinking habits. This issue also includes a quick look at friend Andrea's typical night working the graveyard shift at a Kinko's. No trades. \$2 ppd. [CM]

SLUG AND LETTUCE

#69/Autumn 2001 (c/o Christine, POB 26632, Richmond, VA 23261-6632) is the famous 20-page anarcho-punk newspaper from Richmond, Virginia that manages to pack a lot into its pages thanks to the use of very small print. Each issue of Slug and Lettuce includes zine reviews, classified ads, music reviews,

and the required section of punk columnists. Slug and Lettuce is an excellent resource if you are looking for up-to-date information on band tours, concerts, and other aspects of punk culture. Highly recommended for punk fans who own magnifying glasses, especially those of us fans over the age of 30.

\$1. \$2.30 for 4 issues. [CM]

SMALL PRESS REVIEW

Vol.34, #3-4/Mar.-April 2002 (POB 100, Paradise, CA. 95967; web site: www.dustbooks.com; e-mail: dustbooks@dcsl.net) remains a 24-page (each issue a double-issue) review of small press poetry and fiction, including the once separate publication *Small Magazine Review* as an internal section as well. Along with reviews, each issue includes editorials and commentary with a consistent emphasis on the literary side of alternative publishing. This issue's guest editorial is on "Poetry and Politics" by Tim Scannell, opening with the line "Politics kills poetry." Subscriptions are \$25/year (12 issues). [JM]

SOCIAL ANARCHISM

A Journal of Theory and Practice

#32/2002 (Atlantic Center for Research and Education, 2473 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218; web site: www.nothingness.org/sociala/; e-mail: sociala@nothingness.org) is a 96-page annual journal with something of an academic orientation (contributors are most often faculty or students). Issue #32 features somewhat conflicting accounts of last winter's World Social Forum conference in Brazil by Bookchinite Cindy Milstein (who is wisely critical of the reformism inherent in the organization of the WSF) and Jason Adams (who articulates a naive faith that there is room for genuine anti-capitalists within the WSF). Also included is Howard Ehrlich's relatively uncontroversial assessment of the first six months of the War against Terrorism, titled "No Way to Peace," and an important account of Wobblly Volunteers in the 1911 "Magonista Revolt in Baja California" by Lawrence Taylor. Single copy \$5.00; subscriptions \$16/4 issues or \$25/4 issues (over-seas). [JM]

SUBTERRAIN

#32 through #35/undated (POB 3008 MPO, Vancouver, BC, V6B 3X5, Canada; web site: www.anvilpress.com) is a 44-page quarterly literary magazine featuring a mixture of fiction, poetry, commentary and visual art. Issue #32 features Bruce Alexander's "The Roots of Addiction in Free Market Society" (focussing on "dislocation as the precursor of addiction"). Issue #35's theme is "On Prudery & Perversion," featuring interesting essays like Peter Babiak's "Julia's Nipples and God's Barometer" (on the evolution of sexuality in the novel) and Lorraine Weir's "Prosecuting Fiction" (on a recent bizarre Canadian prosecution of a writer for creating short stories that included depictions of boys engaged in sex). Subscriptions are \$15/year (3 issues). [JM]

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Because Everything is Political

Vol.35,#5/Mar-April 2002 (#396-401 Richmond St W, Toronto, Ontario M5V 3A8, Canada; email: thismag@web.net; web site: www.thismag.org) is a well-produced, 44-page culture magazine with a liberal to leftist slant. This issue includes "It's the Carcinogens, Stupid" in which Lisa Murphy points out that toxic substances dumped into the environment need to be reduced in order to reduce the incidence of cancers. Subscriptions are \$24/year. [JM]

WALLUM

Contemporary Poetry

Vol.1,#2/undated (POB 48003, Montreal, Quebec, H2V 4S8, Canada; web site: www.vallummag.com) is a fancy new poetry magazine (perfect bound with color plates inside, partly subsidized by Concordia University), which also includes a couple book reviews. Evaluation of poetry must lie primarily in each individual reader's experience. Personally, I don't understand the fascination of most poets for publishing what would seem to me to be verse better off performed in front of a convivial group of fellow poets. But if you're especially interested in published

poetry you can subscribe to this new magazine for \$14/2 issues. [JM]

WILLFUL DISOBEDIENCE

An Anarchist Bimonthly

Vol.3,#3/July-Aug. through #5/Nov-Dec. 2002 (Venomous Butterfly Publications, POB 31098, Los Angeles, CA 90031; web site:) is an ambitious, bimonthly zine of unapologetic rebellion aiming at amoral, anarchic insurrection, with a new 32-page, zine-size format starting with the latest issue. The July-August issue includes "Prisoners of a single world" by Gruppo Anarchico Insurrezionalista "E. Malatesta," "Revolt without membership cards," and a piece on the Edelweiss Pirates' "Eternal War on the Hitler Youth." The September-October issue includes "Religion: When the sacred imprisons the marvelous," and "A few words: On the aims and methods of Critique." The November-December issue includes "A few words: On being who we say we are" ("Perhaps the most basic anarchist principle...is the recognition that freedom can only be realized in *freedom*,..."), "Where to now? Some thoughts on the uprising in Argentina," a critique of the family titled "A family affair," and "Some notes on Marxist analysis: For discussion and debate toward the development of a deeper anarchist social analysis" (critical of the reified nature of much of Marxist theory, in which real human actions and relationships are lost to view). This is one of the more consistently intelligent anarchist voices currently publishing, one of my absolute favorites. Highly recommended. Sample copies are \$1 each, while subscriptions are \$5/6 issues. [JM]

YE DRUNKEN SAILOR

Anarchist Communist Attack, Theory and Tactics

Vol.1,#4/Oct. 2002 (Box 116, 339a College St, Toronto, Ontario M5T 1S2, Canada; web site: www.tao.ca/~freyhey) is the attractive (nice color covers), readable, 32-page magazine of the Freyhey Collective. This issue starts out with a surprising description of "Anarcho-Hypocrisy: Freyhey's Expulsion from NEFAC" (it's unfortunate that NEFAC couldn't have done a better job dealing with this), an amusing interview with Bruce Allen (I'll always remember his complaint at a SRAF conference in Fayetteville, Arkansas that "I didn't come 1,000 miles to go swimming"!), and a brief account of some major aspects of the history of Japanese anarchism from 1900 to 1945 by Luca, titled "Museifu Shugi Banzai." The cover price is \$3; subscriptions are \$12/4-issues. [JM]

christian angst by terry everton

That's right, Honey...We can indebt poor nations to us by selling them weapons to repress their own impoverished masses!

That's great, Sweet-heart! While we're at it, I'll bet we could also take over their natural resources by exploiting the labor of their indigenous peoples!



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The Anarchist and the Devil do Cabaret

by Norman Nawrocki (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2003) 194 pp, \$19.99 Can. paper

In this entertaining book anarchist cabaret artist Norman Nawrocki mixes real events, tall tales, and bits of made-up history just true enough to make the story matter. It's a clever exercise and he conducts it with aplomb. The book opens with a gritty description of his Montreal-based band, Rhythm Activism, preparing for yet another do-it-yourself tour through Europe's alternative music scene. They travel to a staging area in Holland—a squat-turned-housing-co-op occupied by friends gained from a previous tour. There they settle in, and readers get an overview of how squatting works in Western Europe. Basically, the buildings are occupied, fixed up, defended and eventually legitimized as "non-profit housing co-opts [offering] a model alternative to feudal landlord/tenant relations and expensive private market housing." These squats, along with cooperatively-run community centres, bars and coffee houses, are the bedrock where European anarchism flourishes. Nawrocki spells out the working details while describing drinking parties and the past adventures of various characters in his entourage.

After a few gigs in Holland the band embarks on a meandering tour in a very cramped van. The trip takes them to Belgium to France to Switzerland to Austria to Germany to Hungary to the Czech Republic and back to Germany to Holland to France to the Czech Republic . . . in 45 days. That's right, "40 shows in 45 days without enough sleep or time to stop and think about it."

Well, with a pace like that any self-respecting anarchist is bound to start hallucinating. Or so it seems as Nawrocki's travel narratives steadily erode into anecdotal fictions addressing the issues faced by those living in the countries he passes through. Humanized politics are served up in stories that run

the full gambit from funny to unconvincing to profoundly moving. The end result is a book that transgresses fiction's 'reality effect,' proving you don't have to believe what is being described to get a point: fables also speak truths.

While on tour Nawrocki is on a quest to hunt down his Polish uncle, Harry Malewczek. Harry is a destitute veteran of World War 2 who has sporadically kept in touch with his Canadian relatives over the years by mail. Through a series of "letters" we are made privy to his activities in the Polish resistance and subsequent wanderings across Europe. Rhythm Activism makes its way from country to country and stories about Harry periodically break in like beer bottles hitting the table during a drunken conversation. Harry's front teeth are missing; while day-labouring in Switzerland he drops a cabinet down a flight of stairs; Harry fights the Germans in Poland and survives it, but goes crazy; he is mistaken for a Roma (Gypsy) in the towns he passes through; he buys a puppet Devil and carries it around in a rucksack; every evening he sits in a town square drinking and talking with the Devil, who relates the foibles of the local populace—"you're a smart little bugger alright! I like you! Have another shot." Watch out, those street crazies know a thing or too . . .

As Nawrocki's trip unfolds it becomes evident that Western anarchists are locked in a struggle against gentrification and commercialism while in the destitute East a renewal of radicalism has yet to take hold. In Hungary Nawrocki hangs out with prostitutes in a brothel-night club adjacent to the bar where the band is scheduled to perform. They discuss the post-Communist sex trade amidst a seedy decor of padded leather love seats, wall mirrors, plastic ferns and flowers. Later that evening Rhythm Activism plays in the bar across the street, which turns out to be a hang-out for the town's up-and-coming capitalist mafioso. The next night they perform for a wall of sodden drunken street thugs and, in still another venue, sing anti-Nazi songs to a crowd of students whose own politics are less than clear. In Hungary and elsewhere racism against the

Roma, fuelled by falling wages and mass unemployment, is rampant. But there are also glimmers of hope. In the Czech Republic Nawrocki exposes the decay beneath that country's thin veneer of prosperity by showing how people resist the new capitalist imperatives. In the midst of a conversation between unemployed workers in a bus terminal a beggar drifts in for a meal, which is served by a heavy-set Ukrainian waitress whose love of humanity lights up the otherwise dreary interior. She expects no money, but is surprised when the grateful beggar shells out much much more than the meal is worth. She splits the windfall with the other workers and everyone is happy.

Which is to say everything is contingent in this book. There are no pat solutions to our problems and joy is something you have to fight for. The good news is the fight's worthwhile and, with the Devil on your side, everyone can win.

— Allan Antliff

Antonio Tellez, Sabate: Guerilla Extraordinary

(AK Press, PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682 USA Email: www.akpress.org), 208 pp \$8.00.

The anarchist struggle against the fascist forces of General Franco during the Spanish civil war is well-known, but the continuation of this struggle after the anarchists' military defeat in 1939 isn't. Sabate tells the story of one such anarchist, an exile in France who carried on partisan warfare against Franco's dictatorship from the 1940s until his death at the hands of border guards in January 1960. Francisco Sabate was brave and resourceful, and his heroism is communicated well in this rivetting history. However the book is more than mere biography: it is also a blow-by-blow analysis of the success and failures of a libertarian guerilla movement. Given the accusations of "terrorism" batted around by all manner of repressive governments to discredit their opponents, there is much

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food for thought here—and its enjoyable reading too. — *Allan Antliff*

Moving Forward: Program for a Participatory Economy

by Michael Albert (AK Press, PO Box 40682 San Francisco, CA 94140-0682 USA Web site: www.akpress.org), 160 pp \$11.95

The author is the well-paid scion of *Z Magazine* and this is the 3rd in a series of meditations on radical economics (Thinking Forward and Looking Forward—the latter volume co-authored). In this paperback, Albert argues for a participatory, post-capitalist economics, and he has a plan for just about everything from goods distribution to pollution management. Problem is, he has no revolutionary program to go with it. The overthrow of capitalism is not factored into the parameters for “moving forward”, leaving me scratching my head about how this vicious, armed-to-the-teeth state system we slave under is going to be dealt with in the first place. Albert hasn’t studied the rich body of anarchist theory on the transformation of capitalist governance and economics through revolution. Consequently his tract is reformist to the core—“each gain is a reform” he writes—and unrealistic to boot. — *Allan Antliff*

The Defiant: Prisoners in the Global Resistance

(Anarchist Prisoners Legal Aid Network 818 SW 3rd Ave. PMB #354 Portland, OR 97204 USA Email: APLAN@toa.ca), 62pp, \$5.95

This beautifully illustrated, information-packed pamphlet hammers home the vital role prisoner support can play in the broader struggle. The introduction discusses the need for anarchist prisoner support and legal aid, particularly in light of the increasingly severe repression of anti-globalization demonstrators. This is followed by six articles by imprisoned anarchists on

topics ranging from the importance of prison support for radicalizing the criminalized to a trial statement by Greek anarchist Nikos Maziotis defending the attacks on capitalist institutions that led to his incarceration. A number of short case histories and a listing of prisoner addresses and radical prison support networks follow. In truth, there are no prisoners in this publication, only revolutionaries. — *Allan Antliff*

Evasion

(Crimethinc Workers Collective 2695 Rangewood Dr., Atlanta, GA 30345 USA Web site: www.crimethinc.com), 266pp, \$6.00

Crimethinc is an anarchist collective based in Atlanta that celebrates life on capitalism’s geographic, economic and social margins. The goal is to transform those margins from spheres of ‘d-for-detritus’ victim-hood into fully functioning autonomous zones with a capital A. Quit your job, quit paying rent, quit paying for anything the author implores before we embark on vagrancy adventures as told by five miscreants bent on evading the capitalist infrastructure. Zig zag encounters with all manner of riff raff educate the reader on various strategies of illegality—squatting, shop lifting, train-hopping, free photocopying, you name it—in gripping short story format. We literally drop and in and drop out of the protagonists’ lives. Ever woke up someplace you didn’t recognize and found yourself dealing with a ‘situation’? This book reads like that. I learned a lot and was thoroughly entertained at the same time. — *Allan Antliff*

Gee Vaucher, Crass Art and Other Pre Post-Modernist Monsters

(AK Press, PO Box 40682 San Francisco, CA 94140-0682 USA Web site: www.akpress.org), 103pp, \$24.95

Anyone who has ever picked up a recording or CD by the British anarchist-pacifist punk band CRASS is familiar with the cover and insert art of Gee Vaucher. A stalwart member of the CRASS collective, Vaucher brings together a nice sampling of her published and unpublished work in this publication. Her specialty is collage and she excels at it. I would recommend this richly illustrated, full colour paperback to anyone interested in what radical art in the UK looked like during the waning decades of the 20th century. Vaucher provides short commentaries on her career as she takes us, step by step, from her beginnings as a commercial illustrator through the years with CRASS to the present. I only wish she had written more—but then, the images themselves speak volumes about where she is coming from. — *Allan Antliff*

Legacy to Liberation: politics and culture of revolutionary asian pacific america

edited by Fred Ho with Carolyn Antonio, Diane Fujino, and Steve Yip (AK Press, PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140; web: www.akpress.org & Big Red Media, 443 12th St. #114, Brooklyn, NY 11215; web: www.bigredmedia.com) 2001. 420pp., \$22.95 softcover

There have been quite a few books written over the years about left activism in the United States during the period 1960-1980. These books have usually focused on the well known protest groups and movements of the 60s, such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). But few of these books have even bothered to cover the contribution that Asian Americans made to those struggles and even fewer have treated the struggles of Asian Americans in their own communities with any depth. Legacy to Liberation tells the history of these little known stories through movement histories, personal accounts, interviews, poetry, graphics, photos, and timelines of organization histories.

The stories of Asian American activism during this period run the gamut from involvement with mainstream activist struggles such as the anti-war and anti-imperialist movements, to struggles in predominantly Asian American neighborhoods, and to activism around issues such as sexual identity and feminism. Many of the Asian American groups that developed during this period were influenced by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mostly because these were still the dominant ideologies of the American Left, but also because anti-colonialist struggles in the Third World during the 60s were based on these ideologies. These older currents of authoritarian leftism were infused by Asian American activists with ideas and theories of black nationalism to produce a syncretic amalgam of revolutionary philosophies.

There are several excellent chapters in this anthology that merit pointing out. Daniel C. Tsang contributes a his reflections on the connections between gay liberation and Asian American activism. In "Return the islands back to the people," Peggy Myo-Young Choy recounts the history of Asian American activism in Hawaii, with special, detailed emphasis paid to the complicated struggle for Kalama Valley, which included issues of local control, anti-war activism, class struggle, and Hawaiian sovereignty. The history of activism on college campuses usually focuses on mostly white activist organizations, so Merle Woo's chapter relating her personal history as a campus activist, "Three Decades of Class Struggle on Campus," is a useful contribution to the history of campus activism that has been ignored.

This anthology is not without its problems, which go beyond the standard problem of weak chapters being included in anthologies. The chief problem is that several of the pieces are histories of partisan Marxist-Leninist organizations that have been written by their principal leaders. Other chapters are just outright propaganda for different strains of Marxist-Leninism. The resulting chapters are too self-congratulatory and aren't self-critical enough. While information on some of

these organizations may be hard to find, the history of these organizations could have been treated more objectively by a third party. There also seems to be a bias in this book in defining all of Asian-American activism as being part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist current in the United States. One wonders if a significant number of Asian-American groups were left out of this anthology. Another significant problem is that several chapters are tarnished by sloppy or nonexistent editing, which the book's editor should have fixed in production.

Histories of the left and movement histories often repeat the bias towards identifying the history of organizations as the history of the movement. *Legacy to Liberation* repeats this mistake, at times to annoying details of how groups worked together, but this anthology is also a strong collection of individual reflections, histories, and interview which really flesh out what Asian American activists were doing during these years.

Legacy to Liberation is an important addition to the history of activism in the United States. Contemporary activists will learn quite a bit from this book, including the important fact that histories of activism in the United States have been far too narrow in scope. An excellent addition to libraries and a good choice for study groups.— *Chuck Munson*

The No-Nonsense Guide to Globalization

by Wayne Ellwood (New Internationalist Publications Ltd, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK; web: www.newint.org & Verso, 6 Meard Street, London W1F 0EG; web: www.versobooks.com) 2001. 146pp., \$10.00 softcover

One of the nice things about this new series of pocket guides from New Internationalist is that the books fit easily into the inside pocket of my jacket, which allows me to whip out my copy whenever I'm on the subway. These guides cover such topics as global warming, human migration, and sexual diversity. Of the recent crop of books on globalization, this

short, concise guide may be the best of the lot. Concise explanations of globalization and contemporary capitalist neoliberal economics are mixed in with illustrative charts and graphics. A good, short introduction to globalization and neoliberalism for those who are wondering what all the hullabaloo is about.— *Chuck Munson*

To Afghanistan and Back

by Ted Rall (NBM Publishing, 555 8th Ave., Suite 1202, New York, NY 10018) 2002. 112pp. \$15.95 hardcover.

In a time when war reporting has degenerating from reporting from the hotel bar to reporting from the Pentagon briefing room to being "embedded" with the troops, it's ironic that some of the best journalism on the ongoing U.S. war in Afghanistan has been penned by a regular columnist for a punk magazine. That journalist being Ted Rall and that magazine being *MaximumRocknRoll*. Of course, Rall just isn't a writer for MRR, he's a syndicated columnist and cartoonist, Rall has written several books with the latest being a travelogue on his trip to Afghanistan in the closing months of 2001. This book is a collection of his articles on the war, his comics on the war and the Bush administration, and pictures of the people of Afghanistan. Rall's point of view is refreshingly radical and hostile to the official U.S. media line on the war.

This book is not some feel good portrayal of the beleaguered Afghani people. Rall is pretty frank about what life is like in Afghanistan, at least from his perspective as a Western journalist with some experience in the region. Of course, that perspective is going to be skewed when the locals look at any Westerner like they are a walking ATM (thanks to the large sums of cash that were spread around by wealthy TV networks). Still, Rall's book is tough on the U.S.'s war on the Afghani people and is largely sympathetic to the Afghani themselves.

Being a war journalist in a country that has practically been bombed back to the stone age is no easy task. It's even

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tougher when you don't have money to throw around like the big boys from the networks. Most of Rall's book is an account of what it is like to be a journalist in a country like Afghanistan. If you actually are going to go "in country" to do your reporting, you won't even find a lousy hotel to stay in. Most of the journalists who covered the early months of this war stayed with local residents. Rall's account of the living conditions is probably the best contribution that this book makes to understanding the conditions in Afghanistan. Rall slept in unheated rooms on carpets that were crawling with bugs and scorpions. One had to have a local resident—preferably one that was a good translator—with you if you walked around the towns. The presence of any Westerner was an instant curiosity among the local residents.

While Rall points out the excesses of the corporate media and their reporters, it becomes quite clear that most of the journalists are in the same boat: they don't want to be the next dead journalist making the boat ride in a box crossing the river to Tajikistan. In Rall's account, the journalist who makes that journey is Ulf Stromberg, a Swedish journalist staying in Rall's neighborhood who made the mistake of opening the door one night, to be greeted by a rain of lead from bandits. Stromberg was not the only journalist killed during the period of time that Rall was in Afghanistan. It's easy to root for the independent journalists over the corporate ones, until you realize that they are all just media workers who risk their lives to get the story.

The book includes photos from Rall and Maryanne Patey. Their subjects range from a picture of Rall writing in his guest house to one of imprisoned Taliban POWs, staring through the the sawblades that make up the bars of their jail. Most of the pictures are of Taliban and Alliance soldiers, but there are several that show the process of journalism, including trucks getting stuck in the mud and official press conferences.

The main attraction of this book are Rall's cartoons, which are noted for their ability to combine humor with biting political analysis. Many of the cartoons published here are ones that appeared in the alternative press, mostly skewering the un-

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elected President Bush and his fascist attitude, but the highlight of this book is the extended graphic travelogue which details Rall's travels and the war as seen through his critical eyes. Rall rips up the official journalism about the war. He reports that cities are being carpet-bombed by the U.S., in contrast to the official line about "pinpoint" bombings. The lives of women don't improve with the change in government as Taliban fighters easily change sides. Most amazingly, Rall relates how quickly one got adjusted to the situation and became bored, despite bombs being dropped everywhere and bullets flying.

The media coverage of the U.S. war against Afghanistan has mostly adhered to the script provided by the Bush administration. But one of the interesting

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phenomenon after 9-11 was the upsurge in average Americans who looked for news beyond the usual corporate media channels. More Americans were reading non-U.S. media to find out what was happening in Afghanistan. People weren't satisfied with the official answers, so they were actively looking for alternatives. Some have faulted for the American Left for being timid after 9-11, but the case can be made that the writers, journalists, and pundits on the Left stepped up to the challenge. Ted Rall was one of these people and his brave, direct journalism was an important alternative to the patriotic media juggernaut. — **Chuck Munson**

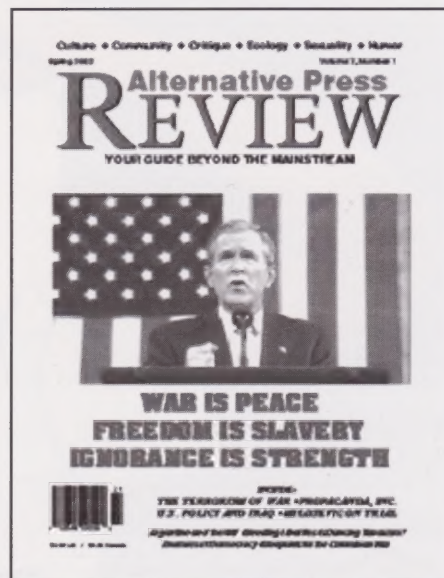
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